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# Southeast Asia Report

VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 2, February 1985

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26 April 1985

## SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

### VIETNAM

#### TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 2, FEBRUARY 1985

Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.

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INSURING THAT PARTY MEMBERS ARE QUALIFIED AND ENHANCING THE PRESTIGE ATTACHED TO THEIR TITLE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 85 pp 1-6

[Editorial]

[Text] Party member qualifications are one of the matters of fundamental importance in the party building performed by a Marxist-Leninist party. They are "the fundamental qualities that every party member must possess and the basic attributes that lay the foundation for distinguishing between party members and activists among the masses outside the party."(1)

Party member qualifications impose requirements of their own. They are also the requirements that the party places upon each of its members, without distinguishing between party members who are high ranking cadres and party members who are low ranking cadres, between leadership cadres and ordinary cadres and party members. Party member qualifications are not a concept that deals solely with revolutionary virtues and ethics, they encompass the job skills of the party member as well.

Party member qualifications stem from the class character, the historic role and mission of the communist party. Our party is the vanguard unit, the organized, militant command staff and the highest organization of the Vietnamese working class. The party is the leader, the organizer of each victory of our country's revolution. The historic mission of our party is to lead the people in the struggle to successfully build socialism and communism in our country and make positive contributions to the revolutionary struggle of the people of the other countries of the world.

Of foremost importance in successfully fulfilling this mission is the need for the party to know how to creatively apply the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the specific circumstances of our country for the purpose of adopting a correct revolutionary line. However, more than a correct line is needed for the revolution to win victory. Once a correct line has been adopted, the party must organize its implementation well and insure that its line becomes a reality of life. One matter of decisive significance in accomplishing this is the need for the party to build a pure, solid and strong corps of party members who are fully qualified to be party members, a corps of communist militants who possess unquestioned loyalty to the cause of the party and are

determined to struggle for the victory of the revolution. Within the international communist and worker movement, party member qualifications and the title communist party member have always been stressed. Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific socialism, wrote: "In practical terms, the communists are the most advanced and resolute section of the worker parties of every country, the section that pushes all others forward; in theory, they have the advantage over the rest of the proletariat of clearly understanding the conditions, the line of march and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement."(2)

Lenin, the founder of the new style party of the working class, waged a relentless struggle against every opportunistic tendency to reduce the role and lower the standards of the communist party member. He stressed: "Our task is to maintain the stability, the firm resolve, the purity of the party. We must make an effort to constantly enhance the title party member and what it means to be a member of the party."(3) President Ho told every party member that they "must be worthy of being the leader and truly loyal servant of the people."

These words spoken by President Ho constitute a very succinct generalization of what, in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, the qualifications of the party member are. This teaching assumes even greater importance when the party is the party in power. Every party member has the responsibility of leading and guiding the masses because the party member is a person who is enlightened by the ideals of communism, has a thorough understanding of the lines and viewpoints of the party and propagandizes and instructs the masses in the thinking, lines and policies of the party so that the masses carry them out with enthusiasm. Every party member must be the loyal servant of the people because the only reason for joining the party is to work for the revolutionary cause of the party, for the happiness of the people throughout one's life.

As the leader of the masses, the party member must never allow himself to become remote from the masses or ever place himself above the masses, rather, the party member must maintain close ties to the masses and serve them to the very best of his ability. As the loyal servant of the people, the party member must not confuse himself with the masses, must not follow the masses, rather, as a militant in the vanguard of the working class, it is the responsibility of the party member to lead, educate and organize the masses in implementing the revolutionary line of the party. The two requirements that the party member be the leader and, at the same time, the servant of the people complement, not contradict, each other.

However, the purpose of emphasizing party member qualifications and making a clear distinction between party members and persons outside the party is not to make party members a group unto themselves, a group separate and distinct from the masses, but to point out that the party member must always fulfill the position that is his in order to cultivate and mold within himself and work tirelessly for the ideals of the party.

In the course of building the party in our country, President Ho and our party creatively applied the principles of the Marxist-Leninist theory on the building of the new style party of the working class to the specific

circumstances of our country in order to establish correct policies and measures for building the corps of cadres and party members. The party has set clear guidelines concerning how the party should grow and who should be considered for acceptance into the party, established the conditions, standards and procedures for accepting new members into the party and set requirements concerning party member qualifications and the tasks of the party member. The party educates its cadres and members in the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the lines and policies of the party and revolutionary virtues and qualities. At the same time, it also concerns itself with cultivating knowledge of culture, professional fields, science-technology and management. The party regularly conducts criticism and self-criticism campaigns within the party organization combined with having the masses criticize the party in order to help cadres and party members strengthen and develop their fine revolutionary qualities and rectify their mistakes and shortcomings. The party also concerns itself with expelling from its ranks elements that have degenerated or become deviant and persons who are otherwise unqualified to be party members.

The experience that our party has gained in the course of its activities, especially in recent years, shows that in order to improve the quality of the corps of party members, it is of utmost importance that attention be given to teaching party members to work hard to meet the requirements regarding party member qualifications. Every party member and every party organization, most importantly the basic organizations of the party must always bear in mind the five requirements regarding party member qualifications that have been set by our party:

"The party member must be a person who is enlightened by communist ideals, possesses unquestioned loyalty to the revolution and volunteers to make sacrifices and struggle throughout his life for the independence and freedom of the fatherland, for socialism and communism.

The party member must possess knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, know the lines and policies of the party, have the ability to perform the job assigned to him, be able to lead the masses and be able to contribute to the leadership work of the party organization. Therefore, the party member must constantly study and make an active effort to improve himself in every respect.

The party member must respect and make every effort to help build the system of collective ownership of the working people, maintain close relations with the masses and do a good job of propagandizing, agitating and organizing the masses.

The party member must concern himself with building the party, possess the sense of organization and discipline, possess the spirit of self-criticism and criticism, protect the party and protect the solidarity of the party.

The party member must display a high spirit of proletarian internationalism and contribute to the fulfillment of the party's international obligation."(4)

The five requirements mentioned above regarding the qualifications of party members constitute a single entity, are closely interrelated and stem from the

requirements of the party's political task in the current stage of the revolution. The five tasks of the party member that are recorded in the Party Statutes are the embodiment of the above mentioned requirements regarding party member qualifications. Every party member, be he an official party member or a probationary party member and regardless of his job position, must work hard to fully meet the qualifications of a party member and fulfill the tasks of the party member.

To be worthy of the title communist party member, our party members must work very hard and improve themselves in many respects. However, the requirement of foremost importance is that of working to heighten our awareness of communist ideals. It is this that makes the most basic distinction between a party member and someone outside the party. The report on party building delivered at the 5th National Congress stressed: "All party members, regardless of their job position, must be communist militants who live by ideals..."(5)

In each and every stage of the revolution, the party has attached importance to teaching communist ideals to party members. However, attention must be given to the fact that, in every stage of the revolution, the specifics involved in this awareness of communist ideals are closely tied to the requirements of the party's political task. Years ago, when our country was still enslaved, was under the rule of the imperialists and feudalists and the party was forced to remain underground, awareness of communist ideals demanded that the party member have the courage to arise in struggle and organize the masses in a life or death struggle against the enemy without fear of imprisonment, without fear of the guillotine, in order to throw off the rule of the imperialists and feudalists and put political power into the hands of the people. During the years of the resistance against France and the resistance against the U.S. aggressors, awareness of communist ideals demanded that the party member feel intense hatred toward the enemy and, instead of being indifferent to the fact that the country was being trampled upon, being ravaged and divided, fight and be prepared to die in order to win victory over the aggressors, win independence and freedom for the fatherland.

In the current stage of the socialist revolution, the party member must still make a constant effort to heighten his spirit of revolutionary vigilance and be ready to fight against and win victory over every act of sabotage and aggression by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, who are collaborating with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionaries, in order to firmly defend the beloved fatherland and firmly protect the gains of the revolution. However, this alone is not enough. The objectives of the socialist revolution are to abolish exploitation, abolish the classes and attack poverty and backwardness with a view toward building a new society, the most beautiful society in our country's history. This is a very glorious cause but it is also an extremely difficult and complicated undertaking. It raises before the corps of party members totally new requirements and challenges, in the face of which even some persons who have been tempered and forged will prove unworthy of being communists if they do not possess high awareness. Today, awareness of communist ideals demands that the party member first have a thorough understanding of the key issues represented in the lines and policies of the party concerning socialist transformation, socialist construction and our



international obligation so that he can then adopt a correct attitude, an attitude consistent with the requirements of the party in the face of the issues raised in life and is determined to fight and win victory in socialist construction as well as win victory over the enemy on the frontline. The party member's determination to win is manifested not only in revolutionary zeal, but also in constant efforts on his part to increase his knowledge and improve his work skills because, without these things, socialism cannot be successfully constructed.

Although the specifics involved in being aware of the ideals of communism are closely tied to the requirements of the party's political task during each stage of the revolution, attention must be given to the fact that there is one basic requirement concerning awareness of revolutionary ideals that is the same in each stage of the revolution. It is the requirement that the party member play an exemplary, vanguard role in every activity in which he engages. In practical terms, a party member who fails to fulfill his exemplary, vanguard role diminishes the role that he plays and strips himself of the title party member.

The exemplary, vanguard role of the party member must be manifested first in strict compliance with each line and policy of the party and state, in a readiness to fulfill each task assigned by the party, in approaching every aspect of production, work and combat with a full sense of responsibility. We must bear in mind that in socialist construction, production plays the decisive role in every aspect of social life. Lenin said: "Once it seizes state power, the proletariat has one basic, vital interest, namely, to increase the output of products, increase the production capacity of society on a large scale."(6) Those party members who directly participate in production or work within production support sectors must have an even deeper appreciation of this matter and fulfill their exemplary, vanguard role in production and production support work.

One important requirement we face today in insuring that party members meet qualifications is the need to continue the struggle to overcome the unwholesome aspects of the personal qualities and way of life of some cadres and party members. In recent years, along with intensifying the teaching of politics and ideology and through the issuance of party membership cards, our party has taken disciplinary action, action that has included expulsion from the party, against more than a few cadres and party members who have made serious mistakes. However, this continues to be a problem with which all party members and organizations of the party must be fully concerned.

The personal qualities and way of life of the party member directly affect a party member's qualifications, affect the prestige of the party and state, affect the relationship between the party and the masses. Awareness of communist ideals demands that every cadre and party member, regardless of their circumstances, possess firmness of character and never relax their efforts to cultivate and maintain the qualifications of a party member. At present, the working people of our country, especially manual workers, civil servants and the armed forces, are encountering many difficulties in their daily lives. The party and state are deeply concerned with trying to stabilize and gradually improve the standard of living of the people. Our

party and state have taken positive steps to resolve this problem. However, it is not a simple problem, not an easy problem to resolve. The proper attitude to be taken by cadres and party members at this point in time is to understand the difficulties being faced by the country and actively work with the party and state to overcome the country's difficulties by setting a good example in implementing each policy and measure adopted by the party and state and encouraging the people to do the same. At the same time, cadres and party members must, through their own efforts, try to overcome the difficulties they are encountering in their daily lives by increasing their income and that of their family through legitimate labor, not by pursuing illegal gains and interests, allowing themselves to fall under the influence of a lavish and decadent way of life.

Stressing personal qualities in no way means giving light attention to knowledge, to ability. To fulfill his role, the party member must temper himself and work hard to enhance his revolutionary qualities as well as increase his knowledge and improve his job skills to insure that he can complete every assigned task well. Moreover, no prior stage of the revolution has placed the demands upon the personal qualities, knowledge and skills of the corps of cadres and party members as the current stage has. It demands that all party members, all cadres of the party and state make every effort to constantly increase their knowledge of science--the social sciences, the natural sciences and the technical sciences--and develop their ability to apply this knowledge to each specific set of circumstances to correctly meet the requirements facing the revolution. Lenin said: "Without technical and cultural knowledge, it is impossible to build communism."(7) All cadres and members of the party, especially cadres and party members who work in the various sectors of the economy, must make every effort to study so that they can increase their knowledge and improve their ability to perform economic work, thereby making positive contributions to the performance of the party's central task today, leading the economy. They must struggle against laziness, the fear of difficulties, the habit of being satisfied with the knowledge and experience they have already gained and an unwillingness to study in order to enhance one's qualifications. The political report delivered at the 5th National Congress said that these are "also a manifestation of serious decay in the personal qualities of a party member."(8)

Endeavoring to maintain one's qualifications as a party member is not only the responsibility of the party member himself, but also the responsibility of the various party organizations, most importantly the basic organizations of the party. We must correct the subjective thinking on the part of some party committees and cadres that as a result of the issuance of party membership cadres, their party organization no longer has any problems regarding party member qualifications. We all know that the vast majority of our cadres and party members possess a splendid character, put their energies into struggling and cultivate and maintain their personal qualities and the qualifications required of the party member; however, the personal traits and way of life of some cadres and party members reveal things that are unwholesome. On the other hand, some organizations of the party still have as members persons who are not fully qualified to be members, persons who have yet to be expelled from the party. Therefore, the various party committee echelons and all basic organizations of the party must constantly concern themselves with educating

and managing party members, inspecting their work and personal qualities, waging a determined struggle against disorganization, the lack of discipline and the failure to comply with the lines and policies of the party and state and continue to expel from the party in accordance with the spirit of party directives and resolutions those persons who are not qualified to be party members. Attention must be given to closely combining ideological measures with organizational measures in order to correct any rightism that exists when evaluating the qualifications of party members and taking disciplinary action against cadres and party members who have committed serious mistakes and correct the current laxity and bureaucracy in the management of cadres and party members.

Our party was born exactly 55 years ago. During the past 55 years, under the leadership of the party, our country's revolution has experienced countless challenges and difficulties but won extremely large victories. We party members are very proud to be included in the militant ranks of the party. We promise to make every effort to temper ourselves, constantly improve our revolutionary qualities, increase our knowledge and develop our job skills in order to better fulfill our role in the cause of building socialism and defending the fatherland, thereby making ourselves worthy of the trust of the party, of the people, worthy of the title communist party member.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Report summarizing party building and the revision of Party Statutes, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 144.
2. K. Marx and F. Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, Volume I, p 42.
3. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, Volume 6, p 537.
4. The resolution of the 4th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, pp 87-88.
5. The proceedings of the 5th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume III, p 104.
6. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 44, p 422.
7. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, Volume 39, p 356.
8. The proceedings of the 5th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, p 173.

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SOME MATTERS OF PRESSING IMPORTANCE WITH REGARD TO IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF LEADERSHIP OF THE BASIC ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PARTY WITHIN STATE-OPERATED ECONOMIC UNITS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 85 pp 18-27

[Article by Nguyen Duc Tam]

[Text] I. Understanding and Properly Fulfilling the Leadership and Inspection Functions of the Basic Organizations of the Party

Improving the quality of leadership and building the fighting strength of the party from the central to the basic levels are a key aspect of party building and have the purpose of insuring the successful performance of our two strategic tasks: building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland. The 5th National Congress of the Party adopted a series of measures designed to improve and strengthen the leadership of the basic organizations of the party, including those within state-operated economic units.

As the political leadership nucleus of a collective of workers and the effective inspector of the activities of the chief and the management staff of basic units that occupy an important position within the socialist economy, the basic organizations of the party at state-operated economic units not only play an extremely important role in the development of the national economy and social life, but also occupy a very important position in the building of our party, the party of the working class. It is not surprising that during the very first days of the struggle to establish and consolidate the party of the Russian proletariat, Lenin took the position that determined, positive steps had to be taken to build within the factories and enterprises basic organizations of the party and make them the "fortresses," the "solid, unshakeable nuclei of the revolutionary worker and social-democratic movement." (1)

At present, our country has 4,844 basic organizations of the party within state-operated economic units, 38.7 percent of which are at industrial enterprises, 23 percent of which are at state farms and forestry sites, 8 percent of which are at communications-transportation units and 30.3 percent of which are at commerce corporations and stores. These are militant units that occupy a very important position within the organizational system of the party within a segment of the economy whose workers and civil servants account

for only 6 percent of the population and 16 percent of the social labor force but which annually produces 37.5 percent of the gross social product, produces more than 65 percent of state budget revenues and makes important contributions to stabilizing and improving the standard of living of the people.

Since the 5th National Congress of the Party and in keeping with the resolution of the congress, the Party Central Committee, the Political Bureau, the Secretariat and the various party committee echelons have attached importance to strengthening the basic organizations of the party, especially those within state-operated economic units. The basic organizations of the party at state-operated economic units have made significant progress in the areas of developing the role played by the working people as collective masters; launching mass movements; simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions in order to overcome difficulties, step up production, increase their units' business, complete the state plan and look after the living conditions of manual workers and civil servants; and strengthening and building the party organizations and the mass organizations. Many party committees and party chapter committees have gained a thorough understanding of what their functions and tasks are. This has created favorable conditions for the director and management staff to display initiative and creativity and move forward to find ways to improve their operations, cut red tape in management, overcome difficulties with supplies, raw materials and fuel and curb and correct shortcomings, thereby bringing about new changes in production and business. The restructuring of production and the improvement of industrial enterprise management and distribution-circulation in keeping with the guidelines and requirements set forth in the resolution of the 6th Party Plenum are being actively carried out. The review of the issuance of party membership cards, the holding of basic party organization congresses and the re-evaluation of the corps of cadres and party members, all of which have been closely tied to the gradual improvement of the management system at basic units, have produced good results from the standpoint of strengthening the party base within the state-operated sector of the economy. The number of party organizations recognized as a "pure, solid and strong party organization" is growing daily.

However, this progress has been neither uniform nor strong. At a number of basic units, many negative phenomena are still evident in production and business. The state plan is not being implemented well, productivity, quality and labor efficiency are not high and labor discipline and the management of socialist property are still lax. At many places, the party organization is not fulfilling its leadership and inspection functions. Party members are not taking the lead or setting examples. The mass organizations have not been strengthened well. Work procedures are not clearly defined and there is still confusion over what the functions of the party organization and the functions of the management staff are. The contingent of core cadres is weak and there is a shortage of cadres specializing in party work and work among the masses at some places.

Of decisive importance in meeting the requirements of developing production, improving economic management and tapping the initiative and creativity of the units of the state-operated economy even more is the need to rapidly improve

the quality of leadership and build the fighting strength of the party's basic organizations. The basic organizations of the party within the state-operated economy must know and properly fulfill their leadership and inspection functions.

The leadership provided by the basic organizations of the party at state-operated economic units is of decisive significance in upholding the right of collective ownership of the masses, tapping the intelligence, experience and energies of cadres, party members, manual workers and civil servants and struggling to correct and prevent mistakes, the failure to comply with directives and resolutions of the party and violations of state policies and laws. At the same time, it is the factor of decisive significance in insuring that the chief and management staff display a high degree of responsibility, initiative and creativity.

With a view toward clearly defining the system of responsibilities that exists within units that operate under the unit chief system and upholding socialist enterprise management principles, Article 36 of the Party Statutes stipulates that the basic organizations of the party at basic units of the state-operated economy do not decide matters concerning specific production and business norms and plans or economic, technical, specialized or professional measures that are part of the management responsibility of the chief. However, the party organization does have the responsibility of leading party members, manual workers and civil servants in participating in the formulation of plans and endeavoring to successfully complete the task and norms of the plan. To do this, the party organization must know what the situation is, listen to the opinions of the masses and thoroughly instruct them in the lines, viewpoints and policies of the party and state. At the same time, it must focus its efforts on providing good leadership of the emulation movement to work, produce and practice frugality aimed at achieving increasingly high productivity, quality and efficiency while encouraging the masses to discover and develop the potentials that lie in their existing labor, supply of materials and production conditions, apply technological advances and advanced experiences in production and wage a determined struggle to protect the property of the state and collective, a determined struggle against waste and corruption, against laziness, irresponsibility and the lack of discipline.

The party organization must lead the mass organizations in closely coordinating with the unit chief and management staff under a common set of guidelines and a common plan that develop the role played by the Trade Union in participating in the unit's management, develop the revolutionary shock role of the Youth Union and guarantee unity throughout the unit. The party organization and the party committee and chapter committees at basic units must constantly do a good job of instructing party members and the masses in politics and ideology, thereby helping to carry out the political task, the specialized work and every other activity of the unit in the best possible manner.

Lax leadership by the party organization of the collective of workers and the mass organizations at state-operated economic units is a serious shortcoming, one that makes it more difficult to meet and exceed the quotas of the state

plan and adversely affects efforts to establish the system of collective ownership at these units.

Inspecting the activities of the management staff and the unit chief is a basic function of the party organizations within state-operated economic units, is an especially important element in insuring the fulfillment of the party's socio-economic leadership function, insuring the proper implementation of the unit chief system, upholding the right of collective ownership of the masses and providing a thorough understanding while insuring the thorough implementation of each position and policy of the party, each law of the state. Through inspections, the party organization discovers strongpoints so that they can be developed upon, discovers shortcomings and weaknesses so that they can be rectified and corrected. In this way, the leadership role and fighting strength of the party organization are increased and enhanced, management is made more effective and the quality of work performed by management staffs is improved.

Inspections must focus on the most important elements of the unit's production, business and specialized work: inspecting the formulation and implementation of the plan; inspecting the maintenance of quality control, the application of technological advances in production and the economic and political returns from the implementation of management measures; and inspecting compliance with the regulations, policies and laws of the state (such as the policy of practicing frugality, the labor safety policy, the wage and bonus policy, the welfare and living conditions policy, the policy on upholding the right of collective ownership of manual workers and civil servants, etc.). Within commerce, transport, supply and other such units, importance must also be attached to inspecting the sense of responsibility displayed by personnel, the attitude with which they support production and serve the people and their compliance with internal work rules and regulations.

Recently, because they do not have a full understanding of the leadership and inspection functions described above, some party committees and party chapter committees have taken over everything and even made decisions concerning jobs that are the responsibility of the enterprise management staff and matters that lie within the scope of the director's authority. Conversely, at a rather large number of places, the party organization has been providing lax leadership, failed to provide good instruction in politics and ideology and neglected its cadre work, its work among the masses and its inspection work. Some party committees have even joined with the director in making decisions that are contrary to resolutions of the party and laws of the state in order to serve the unit's own interests instead of preventing such decisions from ever being made or correcting them once they had been made.

## II. Building the Corps of the Party Among the Working Class

Only by establishing a strong and solid corps of party members is it possible to build the strength of the party organization. Building the corps of party members among the working class is a matter of principle, a matter of line and viewpoint in party building, a guideline for strengthening the contingent of workers within the party. The basic organizations of the party at state-

operated economic units, where practically our entire force of manual workers is concentrated in direct production and business jobs, bear a very large responsibility in this regard.

In recent years, the growth of the party among the working class, although it has increased, has still been slow. In the municipalities and industrial zones, the growth of the party among workers has not been given appropriate attention. The guidance provided in this area has been neither constant nor concerted and there are certain manifestations of narrowmindedness and a fear of taking responsibility. The number of party members who are direct production workers is still small. This situation has adversely affected efforts to solidify and strengthen the corps of the party and build the fighting strength of the basic organizations of the party. We must quickly correct these shortcomings and further intensify the growth of the party among the working class. This is not only a pressing requirement in solidifying and strengthening the basic organizations of the party at state-operated economic units, but is also a basic, long-range requirement in everything we do to build the party.

The present guidelines concerning the development of the party among workers are to attach importance to finding and training workers who possess a firm political stand, are steadfast in the face of difficulties and challenges and have the ability to lead and gain the participation of the masses in the struggle to complete assigned tasks well. Attention must be given to workers who come from long standing worker families, highly skilled workers, female workers and workers who are still youths. In units that have too few party members or at which party members are unevenly distributed, positive steps must be taken to develop the party and, if possible, the force of party members should be redistributed to insure the presence of party members on important production jobs and in fields of difficult, complex work. To develop the party well, we must launch revolutionary movements among the masses and, through these mass movements, discover outstanding persons to train and make ready for acceptance into the party. On the other hand, it is necessary to guard against unchecked growth of the party, against lowering party member standards and against shifting party members from one place to another in a manner that suits convenience and creates unnecessary disruptions.

In conjunction with developing the party, it is of utmost importance that we educate, temper and improve the quality of party members, manage and assign party members well, take timely, strict and just disciplinary action against party members who violate party statutes and laws of the state and be determined to expel unqualified members from the party. Improving the quality of party members and expelling unqualified members from the party must be constant efforts, efforts carried out with determination and without hesitation. At state-operated economic units today, besides those party members who set good examples and are activists, there are still party members who go against the lines and policies of the party, violate party discipline and violate the laws of the state and are no longer qualified to remain within the party. The basic organizations of the party must take positive steps to improve the party activities they conduct, improve the quality of party chapter activities and promote the practice of self-criticism and criticism in



coordination with encouraging the masses to criticize the work of the party, criticize cadres and party members, inspect the work and personal qualities of party members and help them complete their tasks well.

Facts have shown that efforts to build and solidify the corps of party members at state-operated economic units are only meaningful and only yield practical results if these efforts are made at the same time as and in close coordination with building the corps of workers and solidifying and strengthening the mass organizations. Without training and forging the corps of workers, the conditions needed to build the corps of party members are lacking.

The mass organizations, such as the Trade Union and Youth Union, have a major responsibility in educating, mobilizing and encouraging workers to participate in the management of production, in enterprise management and endeavoring to complete the production plan or work plan of the unit. They have a major responsibility in training and developing manual workers and introducing outstanding workers to the party organization for evaluation and possible acceptance into the party, thereby actively participating in the building of the corps of party members, participating in the building of the party. Where it exists, party committees and management staffs must correct the practice of placing little emphasis upon the role played by the mass organizations and only mobilizing or assigning jobs to them when necessary instead of being fully concerned with educating, training and upholding the right of collective ownership of the masses. There must be stronger leadership of the effort to build and solidify the mass organizations so that they are truly strong and solid, are the nucleus of mass movements, are the dependable base of the party.

### III. Increasing the Role of the Secretary and Strengthening the Contingent of Core Cadres and Cadres Who Specialize in Party Work and Work Among the Masses at Basic Units

The leadership of the collective of workers that is provided by the party chapter and basic party organization is collective leadership. The inspection of the activities of the director and management staff by the party organization is collective inspection. Within the party committee, the role and position of each member have a certain impact upon the quality of the collective's activities. However, in theory as well as practice, every economic unit must have a good contingent of core cadres, most importantly a good secretary and a good director, to be able to insure the quality of the activities of the party committee, the quality of management provided by the director and the quality of collective ownership exercised by the masses. On every level and within every unit, it is the secretary that plays the role of foremost importance within the party committee. The experience of many years has shown that those places at which the movement is well developed and the basic organization of the party is strong are places at which the contingent of core cadres is strong, the secretary is firm and the director is skilled. Conversely, places that are weak are usually this way because they have not built or strengthened the contingent of core cadres and, in particular, have not assigned the right persons to the jobs of secretary and director.

The secretary is the soul, the backbone of the collective of the party chapter and party organization. The function of the party committee and party chapter committee of inspecting the activities of the director and management staff demand that the standards, skills and quality of leadership of the secretary be raised. The secretary of a basic organization of the party must be someone who possesses unquestioned loyalty to the party, knows the line of the party well, is determined to struggle to defend the line of the party, is unswerving in the struggle between socialism and capitalism, possesses the ability to lead, to guide, possesses knowledge of economic management and his particular sector or trade, possesses the necessary knowledge of science and technology, possesses a well organized mind, has the ability to unite and rally party members and the masses and enjoys their trust. Only by training and assigning the right persons to the job of secretary while solidifying and strengthening the contingent of core cadres is it possible for the party chapter and basic party organization to play a leadership role commensurate with the position they occupy.

Today, there are thousands of cadres specializing in party work within the enterprises and units of the state-operated economy. Generally speaking, enterprise party committee secretaries have displayed loyalty to the party and dedication to the revolution, maintained their fine qualities and virtues and steadily improved their job skills. Many have made positive contributions to the building of the party, to the leadership and management of their enterprise and grown to meet the new requirements faced in improving our economic management, improving the political and ideological work conducted within the party organization and establishing and upholding the right of collective ownership of manual workers and civil servants.

However, appropriate attention is not being given at some places to training and building the corps of party secretaries. The selection and appointment of persons to the position of party committee secretary are haphazard and come about without any positive action being taken. Many secretaries have not been trained in economic management or in how to conduct party work or work among the masses. Only about 38 percent of secretaries come from the background of manual workers. Some enterprise party committee secretaries are incapable of fulfilling their duties when it comes to providing leadership and guidance, especially with regard to inspecting the activities of the director and management staff of the enterprise.

Party Secretariat Directive Number 49/CT-TU dated 29 September 1984 "On Building the Fighting Strength and Improving the Quality of Leadership of the Basic Organizations of the Party at State-Operated Economic Units" set forth requirements, guidelines and measures for strengthening the corps of secretaries and increasing the role they play in strengthening the basic organizations of the party. Of importance here is the need to correctly define the position and responsibilities of the secretary and overcome the tendency to give light attention to the position of secretary, a tendency which leads to not assigning the correct person to the position of secretary and not giving attention to training and managing the corps of secretaries.

The strengthening of the corps of secretaries must be carried out in an urgent manner together with strengthening the corps of directors and other core

cadres. The best ways to do this are to closely coordinate classroom training with challenges on the job; coordinate the specialization of cadres with the regular replacement of cadres; and combining the selection and utilization of local cadres with transferring cadres from other places to fill these positions. In the immediate future, together with planning the training of cadres during the 5 years from 1986 to 1990, it is necessary to re-evaluate the secretaries and key cadres at basic units in order to immediately replace those who are no longer qualified in light of the requirements set forth in the recent resolutions and directives of the Central Committee. Secretaries must be assigned to jobs for which they are competent. At the same time, positive steps must be taken to train directors, train directors who are skilled in management, possess a high sense of partyhood and are well versed in party work and work among the masses. In addition, the relationship between the secretary and the director must be one of unity and cooperation.

On the basis of the requirements of their work and the regulations of the Central Committee, the various levels and sectors must restructure their staffs and adopt plans for training the cadres who specialize in party work (beginning with the secretaries) and in work among the masses (beginning with Trade Union and Youth Union secretaries) under the guidelines of assigning additional cadres to those jobs and fields that are important politically, economically or from the standpoint of national defense and improving the quality and effectiveness of leadership provided by the party organization. At the same time, correct policies and regulations must be adopted concerning secretaries and the cadres who specialize in party work and work among the masses at basic units.

#### IV. Strengthening the Guidance Provided by the Upper Level

How well the political task of the basic unit is performed depends primarily upon the ability of the unit to provide leadership and achieve a combined strength; however, of no less importance, of decisive importance in more than a few cases, is the guidance provided by the upper level. The party chapters and party organizations at state-operated economic units, which are in constant contact with the masses and must work every hour of every day to resolve the pressing issues raised by life, can only display their initiative and creativity on the basis of thoroughly understanding the lines and policies of the party and receiving guidance and active assistance from the upper levels, especially the level immediately above them. Therefore, the strengthening and building of the fighting strength of the basic organizations of the party within state-operated economic units absolutely must be closely tied to strengthening the leadership and guidance provided by the agencies on the upper level.

Recently, in keeping with the resolution of the Central Committee, the various party committee echelons, government agencies, economic-technical sectors and mass organizations have directed their attention toward the basic units and in providing them with active guidance and assistance in all areas, especially by strengthening their material-technical base and providing them with additional production equipment and cadres, considering supporting the basic units to be a direct task of theirs. However, because their organizations have not been strengthened and their work rules and procedures have not been clearly

defined, the various levels and sectors are frequently confused about how they should lead, guide, manage and assist state-operated economic units. Some local party committees that have been assigned the responsibility of managing the basic organizations of the party at the state-operated economic units within their locality have yet to fully concern themselves with this matter. Many agencies that assist party committees are not properly fulfilling their function of helping the party committee lead and inspect the basic organizations of the party at state-operated economic units and do nothing more than perform party affairs work. More than a few party committees lead these basic organizations in a way that is neither specific nor effective.

To strengthen and improve the leadership and guidance of the basic organizations of the party by the upper level, the various party committee echelons and government agencies must fully recognize their responsibility toward state-operated economic units and concern themselves more with this matter. In particular, they must soon strengthen the staff agencies that assist the party committee in guiding the building of the party within state-operated economic units; attach importance to providing detailed guidance to each type basic unit: the industrial enterprise, the construction enterprise, the transportation enterprise, the commerce enterprise, the supply enterprise and so forth; and give more attention to important units that manage large amounts of merchandise and materials. In keeping with Central Committee policy, a single, federation-wide party organization is generally not established at the federations of enterprises. The party chapters and basic party organizations of these federations are directly subordinate to the provincial party committee and district party committee at the place where they are located. In the case in which the enterprises that make up the federation (or similar unit) are contained virtually within the same municipality or are located close to one another within the same province, the provincial party committee or the party committee of a municipality that is directly subordinate to the central level can permit the establishment of a federation of enterprises party committee as the level directly above the basic organizations of the party within the federation. The federation of enterprises party committee has the right to inspect the activities of the director, the general director and the management staff of the federation of enterprises and lead the work of subordinate party organizations. If these subordinate basic organizations of the party are located within the same province or municipality, the provincial or municipal party committee can establish a council of basic party organization secretaries within the federation to exchange opinions on the leadership and inspection work of the basic organizations of the party and discuss ways to coordinate their activities and carry out the task of the entire federation well. In the case of a federation of enterprises that has basic units in many provinces, the provincial or municipal party committee at the place where the federation's headquarters are located holds discussions and reaches agreement with the Organization Department of the Party Central Committee and the provincial party committees at the places where the enterprises of the federation are located concerning whether to establish a council of secretaries or set up a system of secretary conferences to insure close, constant and effective leadership and guidance by the basic organizations of the party. The council of secretaries and conferences of basic party organization secretaries are suitable ways to guide the basic organizations of the party at state-operated

economic units. They insure the proper implementation of the organizational principles of the party and enable the basic organizations to regularly exchange experiences with one another, thereby closely tying the building of the party to the political task of the basic unit.

Of course, increasing the guidance and assistance provided by the upper level does not mean that the upper level should take the place of the basic party organization but is, instead, designed to encourage and develop the display of initiative and creativity by the basic party organization and create the conditions for it to fulfill its functions and tasks well.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979, Volume 17, p 8.

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## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 85 pp 11-25

[Text] Tran Phu: the first general secretary of the party; born on 1 May 1904 to the family of a poor scholar in Tuy An District, Phu Khanh. Native village: Tung Anh Village in Duc Tho District, Nghe Tinh Province.

He participated in the founding of the Hoi Phuc Viet [Association for the Restoration of Vietnam] in July, 1925. In July, 1926, he was accepted into the Brigade of Communist Youth, the nucleus of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth. In 1927, he travelled to the Soviet Union to attend the Far Eastern College. In April, 1930, he returned home to conduct activities and drafted the Political Thesis of the Party.

In October, 1930, he was elected general secretary of the party. He was arrested by the enemy on 19 April 1931 in Saigon and died on 6 September 1931.

Le Hong Phong: member of the Central Committee of the Communist International. Presided over the work of our party from 1932 to 1937.

Born in 1902 in Hung Thong Village, Hung Nguyen District, Nghe Tinh Province.

In early 1924, travelled to Thailand and China to establish liaison with revolutionaries and was accepted into Tam Tam Xa [Union of Hearts]. Joined the Brigade of Communist Youth and was sent to study theory and military affairs in the Soviet Union. Returned home in 1932 to conduct activities. Established in early 1934 the Overseas Leadership Committee of the Party outside the country. In July, 1935 was elected as a member of the Central Committee of the Communist International. In late 1937 returned to Saigon to conduct activities and was arrested by the enemy shortly thereafter. Was arrested in September, 1939 for a second time and banished to Con Dao. Died on 6 September 1942.

Nguyen Van Cu: general secretary of the party from 1938 to 1940.

Born on 9 July 1912 in Cam Giang Village, Tien Son District, Ha Bac Province.

One of the first members of the Indochinese Communist Party. Following the birth of the Communist Party of Vietnam, was elected secretary of the party committee of the Hon Gai-Uong Bi Special Zone. Arrested by the enemy and deported to Con Dao. Released from prison in 1936. Elected to the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee in 1937 and became general secretary of the party 1 year later. Wrote the famous book "Tu Chi Trich," [Self-Criticism] and presided over the 6th Plenum of the 1st Party Central Committee. Arrested by the enemy in June, 1940 and shot to death on 28 August 1941.

Ngo Gia Tu: one of the first leaders of the party.

Born in 1910 in Tam Son Village, Tien Son District, Ha Bac Province.

Participated in the movement demanding the release of Phan Boi Chau by the French colonialists and was expelled from school. Returned to his village to work as a teacher and joined the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth. In March, 1929, participated in the founding of the first communist party chapter at Number 5D Ham Long Street in Hanoi. Agitated for the establishment of the Indochinese Communist Party. Was elected secretary of the Provisional Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam in Nam Ky in 1930. Arrested by the enemy in 1930, sentenced to life in prison and deported to Con Dao. Died at the age of 23.

Nguyen Thi Minh Khai: a member of our party's delegation at the 7th Congress of the Communist International in 1935.

Birth name: Nguyen Thi Vinh. Born in 1910 in Vinh, Nghe Tinh Province.

Began participating revolutionary activities in 1926. Was accepted into the Indochinese Communist Party in 1930 and put in charge of propaganda and party member training at Ben Thuy, Truong Thi... Arrested by the enemy in 1931 in Hong Kong, China. Released from prison in 1934. Served as a delegate to the 7th Congress of the Communist International in 1935. Returned home in 1937 to work as a member of the Executive Committee of the Nam Ky party organization and secretary of the Saigon-Cho Lon Party Committee. Arrested by the enemy in July 1940 and died on 28 August 1941.

Phan Dang Luu: one of the participants in the 6th and 7th Plenums of the 1st Party Central Committee.

Born on 5 May 1902 in Hoa Thanh Village, Yen Thanh District, Nghe Tinh Province.

In late 1925, joined the Hoi Phuoc Viet [The Association for the Restoration of Vietnam]. Elected as a member of the standing committee of the Central Committee of the Tan Viet Revolutionary Party on 14 July 1928. Arrested by the enemy in September, 1929 and sent to the penal settlement at Buon Me Thuot. Released from prison in 1936. Served on the Provisional Committee of the Indochinese Congress Movement in Trung Ky. Directed the public press of the party in Trung Ky and was leader of the deputies of the Democratic Front at the Trung Ky Parliament. Went underground in September, 1939 and began

working in Nam Ky. Was arrested by the enemy on 22 November 1940 and shot to death on 28 August 1941.

Vo Van Tan: member of the Party Central Committee and secretary of the Nam Ky Regional Party Committee from 1937 to 1940.

Born in 1894 in Duc Hoa, Cho Lon.

Joined the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth in 1926. Joined the Annamese Communist Party in late 1929.

Led a large demonstration on 4 June 1930 in Tan Phu Thuong Village in Duc Hoa and sentenced to death in absentia by the enemy. Subsequently appointed secretary of the Cho Lon Provincial Party Committee. Became secretary of the Gia Dinh Provincial Party Committee in 1932. Became secretary of the Nam Ky Regional Party Committee in 1937 and was later appointed to the Party Central Committee. Arrested by the enemy in mid-1940 and died on 28 August 1941.

Hoang Van Thu: member of the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee from 1940 to 1943.

Born in 1906 in Diem He District, Lang Son Province; a member of the Tay ethnic minority.

Became a member of the Indochinese Communist Party in 1933. In 1935, after attending the 1st National Congress of the Indochinese Communist Party held in Macao, China, returned to Viet Bac to conduct activities and became editor of TRANH DAU Newspaper, the anti-imperialist organ of the midlands. Subsequently published LAO DONG Newspaper and led the Democratic Front Movement in Viet Bac.

In May, 1941, appointed to the Party Central Committee and then to the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee and put in charge of front work and enemy proselyting. Arrested in August, 1943 and died on 24 May 1944.

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## CONCERNING THE PARTY'S LEADERSHIP OF ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 85 pp 28-39

[Article by Dao Duy Tung]

[Text] Leading economic construction lies at the heart of all the activities of the communist parties that are at the head of their government. Much is involved in leading the economy. In our country, a country that is advancing to socialism from an economy in which small-scale production predominates, an economy that is in the first stage of the period of transition, our party must meet the following requirements in order to move the economy forward:

First, it must discover those factors that are in the nature of laws of the socialist revolution in our country and establish a general line for guiding socialist construction. This is the premise, the prerequisite to leading the work of building the economy.

Secondly, it must adopt a line on building the socialist economy, which consists mainly of guidelines for establishing a suitable economic structure.

Thirdly, it must adopt an economic strategy and, on the basis of this strategy, lead the formulation of economic plans, set realistic targets and define the principal measures by which these targets are to be met.

Fourthly, it must lead the establishment of an economic management system that is capable of motivating all the forces participating in production to endeavor to achieve the targets that have been set.

Fifthly, it must lead the work of organizing implementation, perform cadre work, conduct inspections and launch revolutionary movements of the masses in order to turn the decisions of the party and state into reality.

These are the essential elements of our party's economic leadership. The quality and effectiveness of this leadership depend upon the ability of our party in each of the five areas mentioned above and its ability to tie all five together in a single entity. Can our party meet the requirements mentioned above? This is a question that must be examined.

## Part I

Since its founding, because of the need to win victory over numerous enemies in order to win and maintain political power, our party has had to invest a great amount of energy in finding solutions to problems regarding revolution. The victories over the aggressor armies of three powers, the total liberation of our country, the reunification of our country and the advance by the entire country toward socialism have not come about by accident. They represent victories of Marxism-Leninism, of our revolutionary line and method, of the science and art of Vietnam's people's war. They represent victories of the scientific thinking of our party in the national, democratic revolution. How good is our party's thinking concerning the socialist revolution? What achievements have we recorded as a result of this thinking? Answers to these questions can be found in the political reports and resolutions of the 3rd, 4th and 5th Congresses of the Party, in the resolutions of the Party Central Committee, in the works of President Ho Chi Minh, of Le Duan and the other leaders of our party, including the recently published important work "Understanding the Laws That Apply, Improving Our Economic Management." Some of the results of the thinking that our party has done about the socialist revolution can be seen in the general line that was adopted at the 3rd Congress and developed upon and refined at the 4th Congress:

"We must firmly maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat, uphold the right of collective ownership of the working people and simultaneously carry out the three revolutions, the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution; promote socialist industrialization; the central task throughout the period of transition to socialism; and build the system of socialist collective ownership, build large-scale, socialist production, establish the new culture and mold the new, socialist man..."

Under this general line, what, most importantly, is the essence of the socialism that our people are building? It is the system of collective ownership, large-scale, socialist production, the new culture, the new man. This is the basic concept we have of socialism. This concept not only defines the broad features of socialism, it has also gradually become more and more specific, not only in terms of how we understand socialism, but in real life as well. For example, when defining the system of collective ownership, which lies at the center of its line, the party clearly defined what collective ownership means politically, economically and culturally; established collective ownership as both our goal and the moving force behind our efforts; and defined the mechanism by which collective ownership is exercised: the party leads, the people exercise ownership and the state manages. The value of having a correct concept of the socialism that our people are building in our country is the same as the value of a good blueprint in the construction of a beautiful mansion.

The general line not only defines the essence of the socialism we are building, but also charts the course for the formation of socialism in our country. It is the course of simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution, and

promoting industrialization as the central task throughout the period of transition. The major lessons learned during the 20 years of the resistance against the United States for national salvation were lessons concerning revolutionary method, concerning the road to political power. That revolutionary method was the prime factor in the victory of our resistance against the United States for national salvation. Establishing the three revolutions and defining the specifics involved in each, the method by which each is to be carried out and the relationship among the three revolutions are as important as the creation of a revolutionary method by which to seize political power. It can be said that this is the universal revolutionary method employed in the socialist revolution of our country. When our party says that all the new things that have emerged, are emerging and will emerge in Vietnam, from production forces to production relations, from the infrastructure to the superstructure, from the new system to the new man, are products of the three revolutions, it is the same as saying that all the victories won in the resistance against the United States stemmed from our revolutionary method.

The general line also tells us that we must, in order to successfully build socialism, firmly maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat and uphold the right of collective ownership of the working people, considering these to be the main tools by which socialism is built. Within the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat presented at the 4th Congress of the Party are many factors deserving of attention. Our party has included the right of collective ownership of the working people within this category, thereby clearly defining which force controls the state and who the collective masters of the new society are, namely, the working people. They exercise this collective ownership of theirs through the state and under the leadership of the party. This concept correctly reflects reality as it exists in our country; at the same time, it encourages the masses to actively participate in the process of revolutionary change.

As mentioned above, the establishment of the general line and the line on the socialist revolution is the prerequisite to resolving specific economic problems. Only on the basis of the general line can we adopt guidelines for resolving economic issues, developing our country's economy within the sphere of socialism, insuring that the economy is socialist by nature and determining the fundamental forces that move the economy in order to stimulate its development. Moreover, it is only by thoroughly understanding the general line and thoroughly familiarizing ourselves with those matters reflected in it that are in the nature of laws that we can equip ourselves with the scientific thinking needed to examine and resolve economic issues. Le Duan has said: "We cannot successfully manage the economy if we do not reach out and grasp the most effective theoretical weapon of our times--the method of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. The party must equip its cadres and members with a deep knowledge of both theory and practice and cultivate within its corps of leadership and management cadres correct economic thinking, that is, thinking that reflects a firm grasp and the correct application of economic laws and those matters that are in the nature of laws of the socialist revolution in our country."(1)

## Part II

The general line is the thinking that guides socialist construction over a period of many decades, guides all fields of life, most importantly the economy. To develop the economy, more is needed than just a general line. An economic line is needed as well. The 4th Congress of the Party defined the complete economic line as follows:

"Promoting socialist industrialization, building the material-technical bases of socialism and advancing our country's economy from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production; giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of the development of agriculture and light industry and coordinating the building of industry and agriculture throughout the country within one industrial-agricultural structure; simultaneously carrying out central economic construction and local economic development and coordinating the central economy with the local economy within a unified national economic structure; coordinating the development of production forces with the establishment and perfection of the new production relations; coordinating the economy with the national defense system; strengthening our cooperation and mutual assistance with the fraternal socialist countries on the basis of socialist internationalism while developing our economic relations with the other countries on the basis of firmly maintaining our independence and sovereignty and acting in the mutual interests of both sides..."

This line was adopted on the basis of analyzing our country's actual situation and drawing from it numerous matters pertaining to the process of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production that are in the nature of a law. We all know that laws are universal relationships that exist among things in nature as well as society, relationships that are repeated many times. The relationships between industry and agriculture, between the central economy and the local economy, between the development of production forces and the transformation of the old and building of the new production relations, between the economy and national defense system and between the domestic economy and the overseas economy are truly the fundamental relationships within our country's economy. The recognition of these relationships--relationships which we often say are the matters in the nature of a law in the process of advancing from small-scale to large-scale production that are reflected in our line--represents one important achievement of the party in theoretical thinking.

Among these relationships, the relationship between industry and agriculture, the two largest production sectors of society, is the most basic relationship of the national economy. Our party's approach to this relationship is to coordinate industry and agriculture within a single industrial-agricultural structure from the very outset. The line that has been adopted to build this structure is "giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of the development of agriculture and light industry." Its value is to guide our country's economic construction throughout the period of transition to socialism. In our guidance, we must know where we are so that we can apply this line appropriately. The 5th Congress reviewed the implementation of the 1976-1980 Five Year Plan and confirmed the tremendous

achievements that had been recorded. At the same time, it clearly pointed out the shortcomings in our guidance of the economy, foremost among which was our shortcoming of simultaneously being both impetuous and conservative. Our impetuosity was seen in the facts that some norms on the scale of economic development were too large, some norms on the rate of capital construction and the development of production were too high and we were emphasizing new construction while giving light attention to retooling, restructuring and expanding old installations. From these shortcomings we learned: first, we had made certain mistakes when setting the investment guidelines for the various sectors of the economy, which included a mistake in how we handled the relationship between industry and agriculture; secondly, norms, that is, the quantitative expressions of the structure of the economy, were unrealistic and too high. Clearly, the lesson to be learned here is that we must know our limits, must know the relationship that exists between adopting the line on building the structure of the economy during the period of transition and defining the direction and magnitude of our efforts to build the structure of the economy in each stage of development. In other words, it is necessary to define suitable stages of development. The initial stage of the period of transition in our country as defined by the 5th Congress is the result of what we have learned from this lesson.

The issue facing the 5th Congress was how to apply the line on "giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of the development of agriculture and light industry" in order to build an industrial-agricultural economic structure in the initial stage of the period of transition. This was not an easy problem to solve. There were several alternatives from which to choose:

The first alternative was to immediately concentrate all of our forces on building a developed heavy industrial network complete with iron and steel mills producing millions of tons per year, dozens of heavy machine works, etc.

The second alternative was to only concentrate on developing agriculture and either not develop heavy industry at all or only build a very small number of heavy industrial installations.

The third alternative was to develop both agriculture and industry uniformly, without concentrating on or giving priority to either.

Not one of these three alternatives is suited to the present stage.

On the basis of analyzing both the immediate and long-range economic situations and gaining experience from the investments made in building the structure of the economy during the 5 years from 1976 to 1980, our party selected the following alternative: "Concentrating on achieving the strong development of agriculture, considering it to be the front of foremost importance, and advancing agriculture one step closer to large-scale socialist production while making every effort to accelerate the production of consumer goods and continuing to build a number of important heavy industrial sectors." The approach here is to concentrate more on agriculture, to move agriculture toward large-scale production and do our best to step up the production of consumer goods. Our party has taken this approach because our most precious

asset is our labor; the places where the most labor can be put to work are on our arable land, in our forests, at sea and in the sectors and trades; and the most important moving force behind the development of our potentials is the system of collective ownership. Therefore, the congress confirmed: "...The most important requisite, that which we can and must do first is to exercise collective ownership so that we can make rational and effective use of our labor and arable land, vigorously expand the sectors and trades at each basic unit, within each locality and throughout the country, provide the laborer with a job, put every bit of arable land to use, develop every sector and trade in breadth and depth and achieve higher social labor productivity, higher total output value and a broader variety of products.

However, whether or not agriculture and the consumer goods industry develop depends, to an important degree, upon heavy industry (energy, fertilizer, pesticides, farm implements, transportation and so forth). Therefore, in order to develop agriculture and the consumer goods industry, we must make good use of existing industrial capacity and build, in a sensible way, the necessary heavy industrial sectors. The development of heavy industry in the present stage must first and primarily be designed to stimulate the development of agriculture and the consumer goods industry.

Through the approach described above, agriculture and industry within our country have undergone changes and made progress in recent years. At the same time, however, many new problems have arisen. Agriculture has developed at a rather high rate but grain production is still unstable. The investments by the state directly in agriculture have also failed to meet agriculture's needs. Meanwhile, the weak state of our heavy industry has greatly restricted the development of agriculture and light industry. The problem we face in the years from 1986 to 1990 is how to resolve the imbalance that exists between heavy industry and agriculture and light industry. Which heavy industrial enterprises must be built, how large should they be and with which technologies need they be equipped in order to support agriculture and light industry? Which heavy industrial enterprises should be retooled and expanded? Which products cannot be produced by heavy industry but must be supplied through export-import channels to agriculture and the consumer goods industry? These are questions of major importance concerning how the industrial-agricultural structure should be built--in terms of both the direction as well as the magnitude of its development--with which we must deal in the 1986-1990 Five Year Plan on the basis of reviewing our efforts to build the structure of the economy over the past 10 years.

Attention must also be given to the fact that until we have succeeded in establishing a developed heavy industrial network, we must constantly give thought to and work to establish the conditions needed to attain this goal. It is a source of anguish to us that our country of 60 million people produces less than 60,000 tons of steel, less than 1 kilogram per capita, each year. Everyone must be made profoundly aware of industrialization and take practical steps to actively contribute to this great and difficult undertaking.

### Part III

"The structure of the economy and the management system are fused into a single entity, an entity in which the structure of the economy determines what the system of management is and the management system supports the structure of the economy and stimulates the development of the economy's new structure."(2)

For a long time, because of many different reasons, our economic management system has been characterized predominantly by bureaucratic centralism, administrative management and subsidization. Since 1979, since the 6th Plenum of the 4th Party Central Committee, we have done much to dismantle the old management system and build the new.

From the realities of our efforts to change and improve our economic management, what conclusions can we draw concerning how the party should lead this work?

1. To begin with, we have become increasingly aware that leading the effort to change and improve the economic management system has truly become the constant, very important, if not to say the most important, task in the party's leadership of the economy. This is both a pressing and long-range need of our country's economy. For a long time, whenever we reviewed the jobs that had not been accomplished, we asked ourselves what the reasons for this were. The response was usually that, although our line was correct, we had been slow to concretize our line and its implementation had been poorly organized. Such assessments were correct but not detailed or thorough. Gradually, through practice, our party came to see that the failure to promptly change and improve our management system was the main cause of the various kinds of stagnation we were seeing in the country's economic life. We realized that while formulating long-term and short-term plans and organizing their implementation are tasks of indispensable importance in economic management, even if all of these jobs are performed well, not one target can become reality if, in our economic activities, there is a lack or absence of a suitable economic management system. We often say that recording any achievement in the economy requires that three types of measures be coordinated: educational, administrative and economic, the most important of which are economic measures. Here, the economic measure is the management system itself. Everyday life demands that we be determined to replace the outmoded regulations of the old system with new policies in every field of economic life, from agriculture to industry, from production to distribution and circulation. Because, as observed by the 6th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee, bureaucratic centralism, administrative management and subsidization are still pervasive, still deeply embedded in the body of the economy.

Only by correctly understanding this need can we place proper emphasis upon the issue of changing and improving the management system within the party's leadership activities and develop suitable guidelines for increasing the effectiveness of the party's leadership of this effort to change and improve the economic management system.

2. In the final analysis, leading the effort to change and improve the management system means leading the agencies of the state, economic organizations and workers in developing specific, suitable economic forms: forms of production organizations, forms of businesses, forms of distributing and organizing labor, forms of wages, etc. This also involves making improvements to planning, leverage policies and the organization of production and business management. Not everyone recognizes the importance of an economic form as soon as it comes into existence. When the agricultural product contracts came into existence and became part of everyday life, it was not until they showed themselves to be a tremendous force in encouraging the masses to step up agricultural production that many of us came to understand the role played by specific economic forms, understand that economic forms give expression to the impact of economic laws. Every impact exerted by economic laws has a corresponding, specific economic form by which it is given expression. The application of economic laws, as represented in the line and policies of the party, reflects the character of production relations that are closely tied to production forces. However, the implementation in practice of the line and policies that express the impact of economic laws must occur through specific economic forms. The use of product contracts within agriculture, the assignment of land and forests to cooperatives for them to manage, the granting of greater independence to enterprises in their production and business and so forth, all of these serve to show the role played by specific economic forms.

Why were we once slow to develop specific economic forms? We must first understand the objective reasons for this. A specific economic form is something that is created by man. A specific economic form is only of value when it reflects, when it expresses laws--not one law, but many laws that simultaneously have an impact within it. Moreover, specific economic forms are also dependent upon the conditions of production forces and production relations at a specific place and time. Therefore, developing a suitable, specific economic form is not an easy matter.

Subjectively, our knowledge of the economy was initially limited. There was a time when some of us held outmoded, simplistic views of socialism, of collective ownership and wanted to achieve truly "pure" socialism, a socialism without the slightest remnant of bourgeois influence, a socialism that does not require the application of any intermediary forms of transition. Concepts that view the collective as the opposite of the individual, that confuse individualism and privacy, that view encouraging the development of the household economy of cooperative members to be the same as encouraging the private economy, that view material incentives as the pursuit of capitalism and so forth have significantly impeded the birth of new economic forms.

This is not to mention the conservatism associated with old economic forms. Having been codified and become a part of the way of life of millions of persons, these forms are not easily changed. Moreover, there have, at the same time, been persons lacking in sensitivity and awareness who have not changed to keep pace with the situation and have sought ways to prevent new forms from coming into existence. Therefore, it is only through a protracted struggle between the old form and the new form that the new form gains its rightful position in economic life.



It is necessary to analyze the reasons presented above and search for suitable ways to clear away, to overcome the obstacles that prevent new economic forms from coming into existence.

One of the important ways to do this is to vigorously tap the initiative of the basic units in the creation of new economic forms. Over the past 5 years, we have seen many major decisions by the party and state that stemmed from the review of innovations by advanced basic units. This is easily understood. The laboring masses and basic level cadres are close to economic life and directly bear the consequences of a correct or incorrect policy. They have a pressing need for outmoded policies and regulations to be changed. They understand the situation of their basic unit and have a certain amount of management experience. If we tap the spirit of initiative of these persons at the tens of thousands of production and business units within our country, a number of units will sooner or later emerge that have developed new and suitable economic forms. Of course, the birth of these new economic forms is unavoidably spontaneous to some degree and they cannot be perfected overnight. Therefore, the impact of many forces is needed.

Everyone knows that a new economic form generally comes into existence amidst controversy. This is normal. Of importance here is what the attitude of the leadership levels above the basic level is. We have witnessed many different ways of dealing with the emergence of a new economic form. Some comrades, deeply entrenched in conservative thinking and finding it very difficult to accept something new, something different, have rejected the new without a second thought. We have had to pay a high price for this attitude. Adopting the opposite attitude, a number of persons have embraced the new far too readily, have embraced new economic forms as soon as they have emerged without deeply analyzing them; or, lacking the ability to analyze a new economic form, they have rushed to confirm its emergence and praised it at great length but, in the end, not done anything to help the new to grow. We have watched more than a few seeds sprout but then gradually wither as a result of this attitude. Very fortunately for us, over the past several years many of our leaders on the various levels have not only become sensitive to the new, but have also used forces that possess research capabilities, forces that perform scientific work and cadres in the mass media who can think in economic terms, have close ties to basic units and are fully capable of analyzing basic models and suggesting practical measures in order to cultivate and expand the new. This is a correct attitude. From the practice of recent years, the following lesson can be drawn: the birth of a new economic form and the recognition and widespread dissemination of a new economic form must be the result of the coordinated actions of many forces: creativity on the part of the basic unit, sensitivity and guidance on the part of the leadership agencies on the upper levels and the role played by staff agencies, the mass media and scientific agencies.

3. Specific economic forms can be discussed from many different prospectives. However, what we must be concerned with, in my opinion, is that which lies within, that which lies at the heart of these economic forms, that which creates the main moving force behind economic activity--economic interests.

For many years, whenever we evaluated our economic activities, one question always arose that could not be ignored: by its very nature ours is a system with the potential for dynamic and efficient economic development and many of these potentials had become reality, but why had production stagnated, why had many of these potentials not been developed? Instead of deeply examining the nature of things, some persons began to doubt the superior nature of socialism, maintaining that everything associated with the collective and state-operated economies reflects stagnation and inefficiency while everything associated with the private economy reflects dynamism.

Such an assessment is incorrect. We all know that our country's economy declined in 1979 and 1980. Economic activity stagnated. Amidst that situation, a number of well-run basic units emerged. When we took a look at these basic units and analyzed their operations, we found that their dynamism and creativity stemmed from taking the correct approach with regard to economic interests, from overcoming the tendency to give light attention to the interests of the collective, the interests of the individual laborer. Gaining experience from these advanced basic units, our party and state promulgated many new policies: Directive 100, Decision Number 25-CP, the local exports incentive policy... The masses responded to these policies very quickly and their implementation soon became a mass movement. Why this has happened is no secret. It has happened because the masses see in these policies, in these new economic forms something that meets their requirements and benefits them in a practical way. Clearly, the lesson to be learned here is that proper recognition of economic interests, the makeup of these interests during the initial stage of the period of transition and the order of priority of interests and the use of these interests as a motivating force in economic development are of very important significance in guiding the economy.

We all know that economic interests are expressions of economic relations, of the relations between one person and another. Our country's present circumstances are such that economic interests are expressed in many different forms: the interests of society, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual laborer. Viewed from a different perspective, there are the interests of the basic unit, the interests of the locality and the interests of the entire country. This is not to mention the interests of the various classes and strata of society. These interests are determined by the level of development of production forces and production relations, by the different circumstances of each locality, by the role and impact of each basic unit, by the ability of each laborer. Only by recognizing these interests with a view toward gradually satisfying the needs of laborers is it possible for their right to be the collective masters of the economy to become reality. Therefore, the "three interests," which combine to form the interests of laborers under socialism, are the economic substance of the system of collective ownership.

Our party teaches that collective ownership is both a goal and a motivating force. This motivating force is an integral part of the goal to be achieved. Because, "the working people become the collective masters for no other purpose than to satisfy their own interests." Of importance in unleashing a motivating force is the need to develop economic forms that combine within

economic activities the strength of the community and the strength of each individual. The strength of the community is the concerted strength of the entire country, of each locality, of each collective. The strength of each individual is the strength of the energy, intelligence and talents that each laborer displays within the framework and in a manner consistent with the right of ownership exercised by the community. The combining of these two strengths, the strengths of the community and the strengths of the individual, this is how socialism is superior to capitalism. We must know how to make maximum use of this advantage in economic construction and the development of production. At one time, there was a phenomenon in our society that was difficult to explain: the "5 percent" plots were producing 6-7 tons per hectare while the fields of cooperatives only 3-4 tons per hectare. This gave some persons reason to doubt the superiority of cooperatives. This is incorrect. This phenomenon occurred because, prior to the adoption of product contracts, these cooperatives were poorly operated and did not make use of the above mentioned advantage afforded by socialism. The implementation of the new contracts, which combine the strength of the collective with the strength of each cooperative member, has motivated cooperative members to work 8 to 10 hours per day, not just 4 or 5, motivated them to stop doing sloppy, careless work and perform their jobs well in order to earn workpoints. As a result, the crop yields of numerous cooperatives have risen markedly and are no lower than the yields being produced on the "5 percent" plots. Clearly, the lesson to be learned from the use of product contracts is also the need to combine the strength of the collective with the strength of each individual.

Indeed, there was a time when we were not fully aware of the role played by the individual interests of the laborer and gave these interests light attention. The product contracts with individual laborers have corrected this shortcoming by giving attention to the interests of the individual cooperative member, thus causing cooperative members to concern themselves with the results of their work, with the final product for the sake of their own vital interests and closely tying the individual to the collective. Giving attention to the individual interests of the laborer is not a matter of encouraging individualism or developing the mentality of private ownership, rather, it is a matter of closely tying the interests of the laborer to the interests of the collective. V.I. Lenin taught: "Within a country of small-scale farmers, you must build small, sturdy bridges from state capitalism to socialism, not by directly relying upon zeal, but by giving the individual incentive, by concerning yourself with the individual's vital needs, by instituting economic accountability with the zeal born of the great revolution."(3)

Of course, in the process of dealing with this matter of interests, we must firmly maintain the view that "the interests of society are paramount and permanent, the interests of the collective are very important, the interests of the individual laborer are immediate." Only by balancing these three interests can the forces needed to develop the economy be unleashed. From an economic standpoint, the malady of bureaucratic centralism is a manifestation of little regard for the interests of the laborer, the basic unit, the locality; the maladies of localism, departmentalism and individualism are manifestations of little regard for the interests of society and harm the

interests of the entire country. These are wrong approaches and must be corrected.

4. Five years have elapsed since the 6th Plenum of the 4th Party Central Committee, which marked the start of our vigorous assault on bureaucratic centralism, administrative management and subsidization. On the whole, we have begun to record a number of results in our effort to dismantle the old management system and build the new. The party and state have promulgated several hundred documents on improving our economic management. Many new economic forms have been confirmed and widely popularized. The main components of the management system, from planning and the various leverage policies to the system of management organizations, have been changed to some degree. Every economic sector, agriculture, industry, forestry, fishing and so forth, is operating under the impact of new policies. As a result, the old management system characterized by bureaucracy and subsidization has been partly dismantled and a number of factors of the new management system are taking shape. On the basis of these realities, our party reassessed the overall economic management situation and began to define the specifics involved in the management system of the basic units in industry and agriculture. It has adopted guidelines and policies concerning the market, prices, wages and monetary affairs and made bold decisions concerning the reassignment of management responsibilities. In these decisions, we see much of the party's thinking regarding economic management and, at the same time, see the major lessons we have learned in economic management.

Most important is the lesson we have learned about the need to give thorough expression to the view of collective ownership in management. To our benefit, we have, while building the new management system, managed to develop, on the basis of the viewpoint of collective ownership, specific forms that unleash new forces in the economy, in production. These are forms that tap the initiative of the basic units and localities, develop the role that all three levels play in exercising ownership together and combine ownership by the community with ownership by the individual, combine the three interests... The dynamism that we have seen in economic activities and production in recent years stems first from giving full expression to the view of collective ownership in economic activities. Therefore, our party considers collective ownership to be the most important principle in economic management.

The socialist economy absolutely must develop in a planned manner. This is one of the advantages of socialism. However, how do we insure that plans develop upon this advantage? This is the most difficult and complex problem encountered in economic management. We have come to learn that there are many types of planning: direct planning, indirect planning and semi-direct, semi-indirect planning. Having examined the experiences of the fraternal countries and drawing from our own experience, we have selected the following type: planning closely tied to economic accountability and socialist business principles. It is our view that "the plan must be the strongest lever within the system of economic levers." More than being legally binding, the plan must also be a tremendous source of incentive and stimulation to production units, localities and laborers. To accomplish this, planning must be closely tied to economic accountability and socialist business principles. Le Duan has pointed out: "A plan that is not closely tied to economic accountability

and socialist business principles is nothing more than the subjective product of bureaucratic management agencies that are detached from the realities of life. Economic accountability that is not centered around the plan loses its character, its soul, ceases to be economic accountability and, instead becomes nothing more than the style of management practiced by guilds. Business practices that are divorced from the plan are devoid of socialist guidelines and stress the role played by the law of value, by the market in controlling business."(4) It is in this direction that we are now improving our planning.

Democratic centralism is the fundamental principle of socialist economic management. Everyone knows that the essence of democratic centralism is the close coordination of centralized leadership by the central state with the display of a high degree of activism by the laborer, a high degree of initiative and creativity by the basic unit, by the locality in economic development. The difficulty lies in discovering specific forms in each stage of development that give expression to the principle of democratic centralism and combine centralism and the practice of democracy as one. For a relatively long time, the management system of our country has been characterized largely by bureaucratic centralism, administrative management and subsidization. Therefore, our basic guideline in improving our economic management is to allow the basic units and localities to display greater initiative and creativity under the centralized, unified management of the central level in a number of basic areas while providing the laborer with strong inducements to work hard. The changes and progress that have occurred within our economy prove this guideline to be very correct. One complicating factor is that decentralization, localism and a lack of organization have emerged in many different ways as we have gone about dismantling the system of bureaucracy and subsidization. In the face of this situation, we are continuing to adhere to the guideline mentioned above and intensifying our efforts to overcome bureaucratic centralism and subsidization while taking steps to correct decentralization and localism.

The use of combined strength, the major lesson of the history of our country's revolution, has been effectively applied in economic management. We have gradually found suitable ways to exert a combined strength within the economy. These ways include correctly combining and utilizing the various segments of the economy, with the state-operated sector serving as the nucleus, so that we can mobilize the potentials that lie in their capital, technology and experience. They include coordinating the four different sources of supplies so that basic units can balance their plans while only being supplied with some of the materials they need by the state. They include the development of diverse cooperation, joint businesses and economic ties among basic units and localities. They include applying the guidelines "the state and the people working together" and "the central level and the locality working together." They include all three levels exercising ownership together and so forth.

In summary, we have gained a certain amount of experience in economic management. This experience includes our experience in developing forms that unleash new forces in economic activity; our guidelines for establishing the relationship between planning and the relationships between goods and money; our experience in applying the principle of democratic centralism, etc. But the experience we have gained, of course, is only initial experience.

Leading the economy is inherently very difficult and complex work. The facts that our country is advancing to socialism from small-scale production without experiencing the stage of capitalist development and, in addition, bears the serious consequences of several decades of war and must today contend with the wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists make our leadership of the economy even more difficult. Against this background, our party has successfully resolved the problems concerning its general line and economic line, established correct guidelines for building the structure of the economy and begun to define the guidelines and the main elements involved in building an economic management system that is well suited to the realities of our country. The economic achievements that have been recorded in socialist construction, particularly the changes and advances that have been made in production, in the building of material-technical bases, in the transformation of production relations and so forth, since 1981 prove that these lines and guidelines are correct.

Of course, we cannot be satisfied with the achievements that have been recorded nor can we assert that everything is good. Our economy still faces many difficulties. In our effort to implement the line of the party, we are still committing more than a few mistakes and shortcomings, shortcomings in how we organize the structure of the economy, set up the management system and regulate economic activities. To bring about an even stronger change in our socio-economic life, we must gain an even better understanding of economic laws, thoroughly understand and concretize the line of the party, actively study the economic management experience of the fraternal countries and continue to review the realities of our own economic activities.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duan: "Nam vung quy luat, doi moi quan ly kinh te,"[Knowing the Laws That Apply, Changing and Improving Economic Management], TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 9-1984.
2. Ibid.
3. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 44, p 189.
4. Le Duan: "Nam vung quy luat, doi moi quan ly kinh te."...

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BUILDING THE BASIC ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PARTY WITHIN THE COMBAT UNITS OF THE  
VIETNAM PEOPLE'S ARMY

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[Article by Lieutenant General Dang Vu Hiep]

[Text] In the work of building the party, one matter of foremost importance is the need to bring about a strong change in the quality of leadership and build the fighting strength of the basic organizations of the party. The Report on Party Building delivered at the 5th Congress of the Party pointed out: "Building the fighting strength, the sense of initiative and creativity and the stability of the basic organizations of the party, especially the party chapters, in a manner befitting the position and importance of the party's basic organizations are always the foremost responsibility of the entire party."(1)

In keeping with the resolutions and directives of the party, the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee adopted the policy of building pure, solid and strong basic organizations of the party within the army to serve as the nucleus in the effort to build basic units that are solid and strong in every respect, possess high fighting strength and win victory in combat.

In recent years, the building of the party within the army has been carried out in a positive and comprehensive manner, carried out politically, ideologically and organizationally. As a result, in the face of a very urgent and complicated situation surrounding their combat readiness and combat missions and despite encountering many difficulties, the basic organizations of the party have contributed to leading the basic units of the army in overcoming their difficulties, building their fighting strength and completing their missions well. Many basic units (main force units as well as local units and border defense units) have, in many battles, promptly retaliated against attacking enemy forces attempting to encroach upon or occupy territory of ours. In the process, they have killed many enemy troops, captured prisoners and weapons and retained control of their battle positions. Their troops are well disciplined, observe the nationalities policy, protect the life and property of the people and provide security for economic bases. Generally speaking, their party members, cadres and soldiers have displayed high determination to defend each bit of sacred soil of the fatherland, have fought and supported combat very bravely. In the face of stern challenges,

many beautiful examples reflecting close feelings between the army and civilians, reflecting close coordination among the forces of a particular area have been set. These basic organizations of the party and basic units of the army have all grown and developed and now have new cadres and party members who bring with them a strong will and good skills. This situation proves that, if they are built well and closely led, the basic organizations of the party and basic units of the army can complete their tasks in an excellent manner.

However, compared to the military line, task and thinking of the party, to the requirements of the situation and the task of defending the fatherland and struggling against the enemy's wide-ranging war of sabotage, which includes their war of encroachment and occupation along the border, we must continue to focus our efforts on constantly improving the quality of leadership provided by the basic organizations of the party with a view toward helping to further improve the overall quality and fighting strength of our entire army and each of its units.

The lessons in party building that were summarized in the reports on party building presented at the 4th and 5th Congresses of the Party and the review of the experiences of the army's party organizations are of very important significance and must continue to be studied and thoroughly implemented. From the realities of the leadership of every activity and combat operations by the basic organizations of the party within combat units in the recent past, several matters can be drawn that must be given fuller attention in our effort to guide the building of the basic organizations of the party within combat units. These matters also include applying experiences gained in the past and developing upon them in a manner consistent with the new requirements we face now.

1. Correctly Understanding the Position and the Basic Political Task of the Basic Combat Unit and Clearly Defining the Task and Leadership Requirements of the Basic Organization of the Party

The basic unit is the place that directly manages personnel, manages material-technical bases and directly carries out the missions of the army. The fighting strength of the basic unit is a concrete and direct expression of the fighting strength of the army.

Every basic combat unit, be it a main force unit, local unit or border defense unit and regardless of its service or branch, is a unit that must directly and promptly retaliate against enemy forces when they create hostilities, win victory with the very first battle, win continuous victory, kill many enemy forces, capture prisoners, destroy many enemy means of war, capture many weapons, control its battle position and firmly defend the target it is assigned to defend. The basic units, especially those on the northern border, which constantly stand face to face with the enemy, must successfully deal with the enemy's acts of military, political and economic sabotage, with their ideological sabotage and psychological warfare every hour of every day. On the other hand, these units must also actively participate in building and solidifying their immediate rear area in every respect and, by so doing, help lay the groundwork for building a combined strength within the locality,



retaining control, wiping out the military forces of the enemy, defeating their acts of sabotage, their acts of encroachment and occupation and making the preparations needed to deal with different war situations that might arise.

This situation and these tasks demand that the basic organizations of the party provide the leadership needed to build units that are not only in a high state of combat readiness, not only possess high fighting strength, win victory in combat and defeat the military acts of encroachment and occupation conducted by the enemy, regardless of the tactics and forces employed by the enemy, but also units that are "solid political fortresses" that promptly attack the enemy, thwart their attempts to commit sabotage, protect and build the fighting strength of the army and make positive contributions to building and solidifying the battlefield deployment of the people's war and the local people's security defense line.

These requirements are closely tied to one another.

The combat mission of the basic unit is its highest political task and also the main focus of the leadership provided by the basic organization of the party. The basic organizations of the party must truly have a firm grasp of what our objectives are in fighting to defend the fatherland: killing and wounding many enemy troops; destroying many of their means of war; controlling the battlefield; and defending each bit of soil, protecting each citizen and protecting the economic bases and potentials of the country. It is on the basis of these objectives, the specific political task and the actual situation of the unit that specific leadership requirements must be defined; here, efforts must be focused on resolving the key problems faced in performing the unit's combat mission as well as in building the unit. To win victory in combat, we must defeat the combat tactics of the enemy. This is also the first step that must be taken if we are to defeat the campaign tactics and strategic measures of the enemy and win total victory in the war. Defeating the enemy's combat tactics is the direct mission of the basic unit. The basic organizations of the party must have a deep understanding of our party's assessment and evaluation of the enemy, build high determination to win among cadres and party members, thoroughly study the forces that their unit is fighting and, in particular, delve very deeply into and very clearly analyze the specific combat tactics of the enemy and display resourcefulness, initiative and creativity in developing ways of fighting that will enable us to win victory over them. The basic organizations of the party must have a full, precise and clear understanding of the mission assigned to their unit by the upper echelon and the combat decisions made by the commander. They must organize democratic discussions for the purpose of giving each component, each cadre and each soldier a thorough understanding of the objective and significance of each battle, a truly thorough understanding of the specific mission to be performed in each situation; showing them all the advantages they have in their favor and all the difficulties they face so that they have grounds for being confident; and eliciting from them the fullest possible effort in order to complete the mission. The basic organizations of the party must always bear the following views in mind: the purpose of building the unit and training its troops are to enable them to fight. To meet the requirement of winning victory in combat, a very serious attitude must be

brought to the work of building the unit, training its troops and making preparations for combat. On the basis of the requirements of the unit's mission and an evaluation of its strengths and weaknesses, the basic party organization must closely lead the teaching and training of troops and the development in them of the will to fight, discipline, technical and tactical proficiency and physical conditioning suited to every aspect of the realities of combat: enemy forces, our forces, the terrain, the weather and offensive as well as defensive operations. At the same time, the basic organization of the party must gain experience from every aspect of the training activities, maneuvers, maintenance of combat readiness and combat operations of its own unit and learn from experiences of friendly units in order to develop solid fighting skills. It must provide leadership of every aspect of support activities, from battlefield equipment and continuous command communications with small detachments to technical support and the feeding and sheltering of troops in continuous combat that lasts for many days, in every situation.

Building basic units that are strong and solid in every respect is the key to joining all the people in winning victory over the wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary powers and protecting and building the army's fighting strength. The basic organization of the party must regularly provide cadres, party members and soldiers with instruction in order to give them an ever deeper understanding of the extremely reactionary character and the clever schemes and tactics of the enemy, consolidate the ideological position of the party within the armed forces and take the initiative in attacking, continuously and effectively attacking, and defeating every psychological warfare tactic of the enemy. The basic organization of the party must strengthen its internal management, strictly maintain the procedures that exist for guarding against spies and protecting secrets and promptly prevent and defeat the intelligence tactics and acts of sabotage of the enemy.

One important requirement to which the basic organizations of the party must give their attention is the need to provide good leadership of the effort to strengthen the "army and people sharing one will" relationship in the performance of our two strategic tasks on the fatherland's front line. What is involved here is not civilian proselyting in the ordinary meaning of the term, but an effort to strengthen this vital relationship, this base in order to build a combined strength within the locality. The basic organization of the party must provide leadership in complying with the nationalities policy of the party and state, participate within the locality in strengthening the political base, building the economy and carrying out cultural development and adopt a plan for coordinated efforts in building and strengthening the battlefield deployment of the people's war and maintaining political security and social order and safety within the locality, thereby achieving a combined strength with which to win victory over the enemy.

The above are the tasks and specifics involved in leadership work. They fully reflect the political line and the military line, task and viewpoint of our party, which the basic organizations of the party must be thoroughly familiar with so that they can effectively lead the basic combat units in achieving high results in the performance of their missions in every situation.

2. Defining the Specific Requirements Involved in Building Pure, Solid and Strong Basic Organizations of the Party, Always Using the Results Achieved Through the Performance of the Unit's Basic Political Task as the Standard by Which the Basic Organization of the Party Is Evaluated and, on This Basis, Constantly Working To Improve the Quality of Leadership and Build the Fighting Strength of the Basic Organization of the Party

Basic units cannot be strong and solid in every respect and possess high fighting strength if they do not have a pure, solid and strong basic organization of the party as their nucleus, the building of which cannot be separated from the performance of the basic unit's basic political task.

On the basis of the viewpoints presented above, efforts to build the basic organizations of the party within combat units must be directed toward the following several basic requirements:

a) Basic organizations of the party must truly possess the leadership skill, knowledge and ability needed to correctly resolve the problems that arise in the basic unit's everyday life, activities and combat (every kind of combat and under all circumstances). In particular, the basic organizations of the party within units of the local forces and border defense forces, units which usually operate independently far from the upper echelon, must possess a fully developed sense of initiative and creativity.

b) Basic organizations of the party must be very tenacious in the fight against the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, who are collaborating with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary powers, be steadfast in the face of every difficulty and stern challenge, be alert to every complex change in the situation and truly be the solid nucleus of the unit's collective of cadres and soldiers in the fight against each act and tactic of sabotage and aggression of the enemy.

c) Basic organizations of the party must be united, politically pure, organizationally strong and close to the masses.

These are the general requirements faced in building and strengthening the basic organizations of the party with a view toward improving the ability of these organizations to lead and develop the role that party members play in taking the lead and setting good examples. On the basis of the specific requirements of its leadership work and the various aspects of its specific situation, each basic organization of the party must concretize these requirements in the form of specific requirements, norms and measures to be met and implemented each year within its unit, all of which must be designed to increase the size and improve the quality of the corps of party members as well as build the party organization, which includes strengthening the various party committees and party chapters. In the guidance it provides, the basic party committee must, on the basis of knowing the precise strengths and weaknesses of each party chapter and each party member as reported in the evaluations made during each period, take practical measures to help party members improve themselves and help party chapters make uniform progress, thus assuring that no chapters are weak or deficient. When evaluating the leadership being provided by a basic party organization and rating party

members and party chapters, the basic party committee must examine them in a truly strict and thorough manner, not in a cursory, form for form's sake manner.

The strengthening of the basic party committees, which mainly involves appointing persons who possess good qualities and skills to the positions of secretary and standing committee member, is of decisive importance in improving the quality of leadership provided by the basic organization of the party. In the strengthening of the party committee, importance must be attached to the size of the committee, its quality and its work methods. The authorized upper level must promptly appoint party committee members when there are not enough so that any disorganization does not persist and must adopt plans for training key leaders of the basic organization of the party who are fully capable of fulfilling the tasks and duties assigned to them.

The party committee must insure that each party member regularly participates in party chapter activities in order to educate, train and manage them. It must properly assign leadership tasks to each party member in routine work as well as in each battle and each work task and correctly practice self-criticism and criticism.

The basic party committee must inspect party members as they carry out their training, combat readiness, combat and other tasks, develop upon their positive factors, guide them in overcoming negative factors, train them and improve their quality.

### 3. Successfully Building the Party Chapters of the Companies, Building the Fighting Spirit and Exemplary-Vanguard Role of the Party Member, Building a Corps of Party Members That Is of High Quality, of Proper Size and Stable

As mentioned above, the basic unit is the place that directly manages personnel, manages material-technical bases and directly carries out the missions of the army. The fundamental components of the basic units of the army are its companies. The completion of the mission of the basic unit is the combined achievement of the military labor and combat efforts of the companies (infantry, combat support, engineers, information, transport, military medical...) operating in close coordination under a unified leadership and command structure. In combat, be it offensive or defensive and regardless of whether it is operating within a large formation or operating independently, the company occupies an extremely important position. The company is also the place that provides regular instruction in politics, cultivates the thinking, morale and attitudes of troops, forges the political qualities and psychological factors needed to strengthen their will to fight and develops their knowledge and ability to use weapons and technical equipment under different conditions. In other words, the company is the place that teaches and forges the noble qualities and the skills of the new, socialist man within the army every hour of every day. Therefore, efforts must be focused on providing the guidance needed to successfully build truly solid party chapters within the companies, closely tie the leadership organization of the party to the combat organization of the army and achieve a more dynamic style of leadership that is consistent with the conditions and circumstances under which combat units operate, thereby insuring that the

company commander has a firm base upon which to rely and soldiers receive direct guidance and assistance so that they can perform their mission successfully.

To develop its leadership role, the party chapter must be thoroughly familiar with the specific political task of the company and concentrate on providing the leadership needed to achieve the following objectives: raising the level of combat readiness, winning victory in combat, developing the exemplary-vanguard role of party members and building a corps of party members, the quality of which is constantly improved and the size of which is proper and stable. The party chapters within infantry battalions and regiments must provide the leadership needed to raise the professional standards and heighten the responsibility of each party member in the specialized work they perform in order to support the combat companies. The results of the support provided to the combat companies are the standard by which the staff and the leadership activities of the party chapter are to be evaluated. Providing this support must be considered the objective of the activities of the staff party chapter.

Within the party chapter, party development is a job that must be performed on a routine and timely basis to insure that the party chapter is always of the proper size, that its size is stable and that it has sufficient party members in important positions, positions close to the masses in every activity in which they engage and under all combat circumstances. In the acceptance of new members into the party, attention must be directed toward outstanding persons within the officers corps, outstanding specialized technical personnel, non-commissioned officers and soldiers who have been enlightened by communist ideals, are determined to make sacrifices and fight to defend the fatherland and socialist construction, have been tempered and challenged, possess good revolutionary qualities, possess a certain amount of political awareness and the required knowledge of culture and military science and technology and have the trust and respect of the masses. The acceptance of new members into the party must be put on a regular basis, be governed by a specific, scientific plan, be closely guided and be closely tied to improving the quality of the instruction provided by the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union and the activities it conducts. The members of the entire party organization, most importantly its official party members and the cadres on the various levels, must display greater responsibility in educating the masses and in the work of developing the party. The party committee must put each party member (including those who are commanders) in charge of certain persons among the masses and inspect the work they perform with these persons. The acceptance of persons into the party must strictly comply with all standards, principles and procedures. The quality of the persons being accepted must be guaranteed. Once persons have been accepted into the party, full importance must be attached to training and tempering them so that none of these persons has their name removed from the rolls of the party during their period of probation.

To improve the quality of the corps of party members, we must simultaneously take all three measures as pointed out by our party: expelling unqualified members from the party, accepting new members into the party and educating and training party members through the realities of combat, work, labor, studies and party activities and through self-criticism and criticism.

Of key importance in improving the quality of party members is the need to improve the quality of the key cadres at basic units. Party committee members, most importantly the party committee secretary and party chapter secretaries, must truly possess all the required qualities and skills, possess a high sense of partyhood, be highly principled, be able to unite everyone and possess a good style of leadership. Therefore, the level above the basic organization of the party must fully concern itself with selecting and appointing the right persons as key leaders within basic units and adopt plans for providing these comrades with regular, comprehensive training so that they can meet the requirements of their task.

Efforts to solidify and build the fighting strength of the basic organizations of the party, in general, and the party chapters, in particular, cannot be divorced from efforts to strengthen and develop the role played by the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union. In particular, when the number of party members within the party chapter is not large, it is extremely necessary to train progressive Youth Union members and develop the key role that they play in order to build the influence of the party under all circumstances and create a pool of persons to augment the ranks of the party and develop the army's corps of cadres.

#### 4. Heightening the Responsibility of the Various Sectors and Levels, of Each Party Member and Cadre in the Basic Units Toward Building Pure, Solid and Strong Basic Organizations of the Party

Experience has shown: the building of pure, solid and strong basic organizations of the party is closely tied to the political task of building basic units that are strong and solid in every respect, possess high fighting strength and win victory in combat. Our party has asserted that building the fighting strength of the basic organizations of the party is always the foremost responsibility of the entire party.

The realities of life have rejected the mistaken attitude that building basic organizations of the party that are pure, solid and strong is only the responsibility of the political agencies and of the party members and cadres at basic units. The basic organizations of the party within the combat units of the army differ from the basic organizations of the party within the other sectors in that the environment in which they operate is one in which the makeup of their unit is usually unstable. This instability is due to many reasons: the discharge from the army of soldiers who have completed their service, the transfer of cadres to other jobs or to schools for training, casualties in combat, etc. Units are always receiving new cadres, new party members and new soldiers. These quantitative changes are usually accompanied by qualitative changes and create difficulties that cannot be immediately overcome by the unit itself and which even the political agency on the upper level, because of its duties within the army, is incapable of helping to resolve, such as the number and quality of the new forces joining the unit. Therefore, success in building basic units that are strong and solid in every respect and possess high fighting strength and the results achieved in the performance of the unit's mission depend, to an important degree, upon receiving close and proper guidance from the upper levels in the areas of military affairs, politics, rear services, technology and so forth.

Thus, building the basic organizations of the party is not only the responsibility of the basic party organization, but also the responsibility of the commander, of staff, rear service and technical cadres and of the political agencies on the levels above the basic unit. Within the scope of their functions and with a view toward supporting the basic units, the sectors and levels above the basic units must fulfill their responsibility to the basic units and the basic organizations of the party, must closely coordinate with one another and adopt unified plans for guiding the effort to build basic units that are strong and solid in every respect and provide them with the conditions needed to complete their mission. The Party Secretariat has directed: "The basic organizations of the party at agencies...must build a spirit of boldly improving its work methods and style of work...display a high spirit of responsibility and constantly concern itself with guiding and assisting the units on the lower level in every way possible"(Regulation on the Basic Organizations of the Party within the Vietnam People's Army--Number 22/QD-TU, 12 August 1983). The political departments and political offices must closely guide efforts to build the basic organizations of the party, considering this to be an essential element of their everyday work.

The basic party committees and all members of the party organization must have a thorough understanding of the general and specific tasks of the basic organizations of the party and the tasks of the basic party committees as well as be thoroughly familiar with the guidelines set forth in Party Secretariat Regulation Number 22/QD-TU dated 12 August 1983 for establishing the relationships among the jobs of the basic organizations of the party. They must fully comply with the directives and instructions received from the leadership agencies of the party on the upper levels, orient each of their activities toward the goal of excellently completing the missions of the unit and build a pure, solid and strong party organization in a manner closely tied to the efforts to achieve this goal.

In summary, only through the combined strength of the various sectors and levels and the efforts of the party committee and each party member and cadre at basic units is it possible to successfully build pure, solid and strong basic organizations of the party.

What we have learned from the realities of building the basic organizations of the party within the combat units of the Vietnam People's Army confirm: the principles, guidelines and requirements regarding party building that were adopted at the 4th and 5th National Congresses of the Party are totally correct. However, the great variety of life and the diversity of the various types of basic organizations of the party demand that the leadership agencies on the upper levels provide guidance that is more concrete and more consistent with the realities of the constantly changing situation. The specific requirements and methods of leadership employed by the organizations of the party must be established in a manner that is truly consistent with general principles and based on the characteristics, nature and political task of each type basic unit in the present situation, not established in a mechanical, simplistic fashion. At the same time, specific requirements must be established with regard to building the basic organizations of the party politically, ideologically and organizationally.

In keeping with these guidelines, the political agencies on the various levels within the People's Army--the agencies that provide party leadership, undertake party work and political work and lead the basic organizations of the party within the army--must make an effort to bring about a profound change in party building and successfully carry out the party building task set forth by the 5th Congress, thereby laying the groundwork for spurring the successful completion of the combat readiness, combat and other tasks assigned to the army by the party and state.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Van kien Dai hoi V [The Proceedings of the 5th Congress], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume III, p 94.

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## PRINCIPLES AND CREATIVITY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 85 pp 47-52, 64

[Article by Nguyen Vinh]

[Text] The revolution in our country demands a constant effort to maintain the correct relationship between firm adherence to principles and the display of initiative and creativity in both our thoughts and actions so that we can gain a thorough understanding and organize the successful implementation of the party's political line and complete our two strategic tasks well: successfully building socialism and firmly defending the socialist fatherland. This is an issue that we face in all fields of activity, an issue that every organization, unit, cadre and party member must correctly understand, must have the correct attitude toward and resolve in an accurate manner because life is always changing and developing, because the revolution is always a process of continuous creativity based on the revolution's own objective laws.

The issue of principles and creativity is even one that man faces in his daily activities to survive and grow. While man creates his own history, he does so under certain objective conditions to which man must acclimate himself, does so within practical relations that exist and develop, among which economic relations, in the final analysis, are the most important, the most decisive, are relations that cannot be created to suit man's will and subjective desires. In summary, man can only be creative on the basis of understanding and acting in accordance with the objective laws of nature, society and thought. These laws and principles define the direction of man's creative endeavors in each specific period of history.

Socialist construction, the most profound, most thorough and most complex revolution in the life of society, demands conscious efforts to resolve many issues that have never been faced in history before. In particular, our country is advancing to socialism from a backward economy characterized by small-scale production, an economy that is bypassing the stage of capitalist development, in addition to which we have experienced more than 30 years of a bitter war, from which we still suffer serious consequences in many areas, and must now resist the enemy's wide-ranging war of sabotage and be ready to deal with a large-scale war of aggression launched by the enemy. This situation has faced us with many new, complex and difficult problems in our revolutionary undertaking. To resolve these problems, we must do research and

conduct experiments, must sometimes grope about and do things over, must "build socialism from bottom to top," must "build both new production forces and new production relations, build both a new economic base and a new superstructure, build both our material life and a new spiritual and cultural life." In this thorough and complex revolution, establishing the correct relationship between principles and creativity assumes even greater importance and urgency. Lenin taught: "All nations will advance to socialism, this is inevitable. However, not all nations will advance to socialism in precisely the same way. Every nation will incorporate its peculiarities within one form of the democratic system or another, within one type of the dictatorship of the proletariat or another, within one pace of socialist transformation of the different areas of social life or another."(1)

The realities of our country's revolution during the 55 years since the birth of the party prove that the victory of the revolution is always the result of correctly applying the relationship between the universal and the particular, between principles and creativity in our practical thoughts and actions. The victory of the revolution is the result of "combining the surging spirit of democracy that overflows among the laboring masses at meetings like the rush of floodwaters in the spring with an iron discipline in labor, with unquestioned subordination in labor to the will of a single person, of the soviet leader."(2)

Life has shown that without full adherence to the universal and fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, no country, no nation, regardless of its level of economic, cultural and social development, regardless of its specific historical economic, cultural and social characteristics, cannot successfully build truly genuine and scientific socialism. However, these fundamental principles are always expressed and applied under a specific set of circumstances, under the influence of the special, unique conditions within each country. Consequently, as a result of their creative application, the principles and laws of socialism are expressed in unique forms, methods and order and stages of development at each place and time. If the specific conditions and peculiarities of each country, each nation are not taken into full consideration, it is impossible to properly apply the laws of socialism, impossible to display creativity in order to successfully build socialism within one's country.

In each field of social life, in politics and economics, in cultural affairs and national defense, at those places where the organizations of the party and state or the mass organizations establish the correct relationship between firm adherence to principles and the display of initiative and creativity, work is performed with enthusiasm and zeal, intelligence is tapped, revolutionary movements are stimulated and every laborer strictly complies with the lines and policies of the party, the laws of the state. At these places, a very large force is unleashed among the masses in the work of building socialism and defending the fatherland and the line of the party becomes everyday reality. Conversely, at those places that lack a spirit of initiative and creativity, that organize implementation like stamping something from a mold or making something by machine or without close, consistent adherence to principles, there is a lack of zeal in work, compliance with the positions and policies of the party and laws of the state

is marked by liberalism and the habit of doing as one sees fit, discipline is lax, productivity, quality and efficiency decline and negative phenomena arise.

Establishing the correct relationship between principles and creativity is also a requirement in the daily revolutionary work of each of us, is a manifestation of the Leninist workstyle that we must cultivate.

We understand principles as being not products of subjective decisions, but the reflection of matters that are in the nature of laws in the development of things and objective phenomena. The laws of nature and society are reflected in our consciousness and given form in principles that define and regulate the guidelines of man's actions. However, even principles only reflect the basic character, the basic characteristics of the development of things and phenomena, that is, they do not, of themselves, provide specific solutions, specific, complete answers for every separate case in one country or another, in one locality or another, at one time or another. But principles are not some empty, rigid generality either, because they are drawn from an analysis of specific, living reality. Engels wrote: "Principles are not applied to the natural world and the history of man but drawn from the natural world and history of man; it is not that the natural world and man adapt themselves to principles, but, conversely, that principles are only correct if they are consistent with the natural world and history." (3) Moreover, principles themselves are not fixed and immutable, but are supplemented with each passing day and develop when life changes and progresses. The scope and degree of impact of principles also vary. Some principles apply to the world, to the society of man; some principles belong to a specific period in history or a specific field of social life; and some principles apply only to a specific field of activity.

To be creative is to possess deep knowledge of and be sensitive to objective reality in the course of its specific, living development and the subjective conditions of man's activities and, on this basis, to clearly see the direction in which something is developing, to chart a course and adopt solutions that are best suited to specific circumstances in order to act in a manner consistent with the laws and principles of nature, of history, of life and turn potentials into reality for the purpose of achieving proposed objectives. Creativity is manifested in both our awareness and actions, in theory and in practical actions taken to turn our thinking into actions, turn potential into reality. Le Duan wrote: "Truth is concrete, revolution is creativity." Recognizing the truth and carrying out the revolution both demand creative thinking and action.

As a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, our party has given expression to its revolutionary and scientific character in its revolutionary line and revolutionary method, in organizing the implementation of this line in a correct and creative manner, in a manner that has led the Vietnamese revolution to one victory after another. The line of brandishing the banners of national independence and socialism reflects the creative application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism on the relationship between the nation and the class, the relationship between the national liberation revolution and the proletarian revolution under modern day conditions. The line on the socialist

revolution was adopted and concretized in the form of objectives, stages of development and 5-year plans by the 4th and 5th Congresses of the Party. This line is the result of knowledge and the creative application of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism concerning the socialist revolution and socialist construction and the experiences of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries to the characteristics and specific conditions of our country's revolution.

Marx and Engels frequently pointed out that the foundation of creativity is the recognition of and response to objective necessity. To develop upon this thinking in revolutionary practice, Lenin had to wage a relentless struggle against the subjective sociology of the populist faction, against "left wing" infantilism within the communist movement and against the viewpoint of voluntarism in revolutionary practice. And, he also set time aside to teach communists who were very zealous but possessed little knowledge of objective laws and principles, especially within the economic field, how to properly combine their intense revolutionary zeal with thinking and actions that reflect both principles and creativity.

Principles and creativity constitute an entity and it is only within this dialectical entity that man can recognize and take action to achieve his goal, that man can transform reality to meet his rising needs under the specific circumstances to which man must adjust and within the relationships that exist. Reality has proven that if there are no principles in a revolution, there is no need for creativity. The laws and principles embodied within socialism are not dependent upon the subjective recognition of them by man; however, how they are applied so that they become reality, this is dependent, to a very large degree, upon the awareness and creative actions of man himself.

There can be no creativity if it is divorced from laws, from principles. Creativity occurs within the framework of laws and principles so that laws are applied in a manner consistent with specific conditions, bring about changes in reality and meet the needs of man. Our view and evaluation of creativity in practical activities in the various areas of socialist life must be based on determining whether or not this creativity complies with the objective laws, the basic principles of socialism, not simply on the results it yields. Something that is creative in economic management cannot be considered creativity if it does not comply with the principles of socialist economic management. Creativity that is divorced from or goes against principles, against the interests of socialist collective ownership is no longer creativity. Because, actions that are contrary to laws, contrary to principles exact a price. Conversely, firmly adhering to principles but not giving consideration to creative endeavors is no different than tying our own hands. Placing full emphasis upon the role of creativity, of thinking while having little regard for or rejecting objective laws and principles is just as big a mistake as worshipping laws and principles and turning them into rigid principles. It is through creativity that principles are learned and properly implemented under every different set of circumstances and conditions, are amended, perfected or improved. Only creativity that is based on principles is correctly oriented, only creativity that is based on principles has a

progressive impact and stimulates the development of things, of social phenomena in a forward direction.

The relationship between principles and creativity is the relationship between thoroughness and steadfastness in achieving an objective and dynamism in the search for ways to achieve this objective. Therefore, principles and creativity are not contradictory. It would be a mistake to maintain that adherence to principles rules out creativity or that creativity brings with it no need for principles. It would be a mistake to consider a principle to be something fixed, rigid and complete and view creativity as doing as one sees fit with no regard for objective laws.

Our party stresses the close oneness between principles and creativity, between revolutionary zeal and scientific knowledge with a view toward developing the ability needed to recognize and apply in a correct and creative manner the objective laws and basic principles of socialism and move our socialist revolution strongly and steadily forward. This is an issue that was faced as soon as the party came into existence. Now, in the very complex work of building and defending the socialist fatherland, it is an issue of even greater importance. In its revolutionary activities over the past half-century and more, our party has always had to establish the proper relationship between principles and creativity. The correct establishment of this relationship is one of the main reasons why our country's revolution enjoys the glorious victory that it does today. This is also an expression of the revolutionary and scientific character of our party. Our party has grown a great deal in its knowledge of the laws and principles of the national democratic revolution and a war of national liberation but the laws and principles of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, especially within the economic field, which must be learned to create the subjective conditions needed to complete our work of building and defending the socialist fatherland, are still very new. We must make tremendous efforts, must achieve extraordinary growth in this area before we can complete the tasks necessitated by the revolution, especially in this very difficult and complex initial stage.

To be able to apply them correctly, it is necessary to have a clear and thorough understanding of the essence of principles and the scope and limits of principles. These are difficult for us to fully recognize at first; however, we must experiment and gradually deepen our understanding in order to grasp the essential relationships of laws and principles. Only in this way are we able to apply them in a correct and creative manner.

However, to apply principles in a correct and creative manner, it is also necessary to place them within a specific system, within a reciprocal relationship with other principles. The impact of laws and principles is always a combined impact that occurs within an entity. Laws and principles influence one another. They create the conditions for or constrain one another.

Principles always have their impact under a specific set of historical circumstances, under the influence of specific, special conditions. Therefore, to understand and correctly apply principles, we must view them

from the perspective of a specific set of circumstances. Lenin said: "The essence, the living soul of Marxism is: the detailed analysis of a specific situation."(4)

Our conscious, creative actions in the application of objective laws and principles are not merely designed to meet the specific requirements of a specific time or place, but must be viewed as one element of an entire entity, of a process designed to achieve an ultimate objective that has been established. As a result, when applying these laws and principles to resolve problems in life, it is necessary to tie specific requirements to general requirements, specific, immediate interests to common, long-range interests.

Always "investigating, researching, discovering, predicting and learning what the special characteristics and features are" and "considering one possibility or another" associated with things and phenomena in order to recognize them correctly and take correct action, in order to supplement, develop upon and perfect existing principles, these are a very important aspect of conscious, creative activity. The material dialectic demands that we examine things and phenomena on the basis of the objective reality in which they exist; at the same time, it demands that we predict future development in a scientific manner based on a firm grasp of the laws of development of things and phenomena. Lenin said: "Religious prophecy is myth. But scientific prophecy is truth."(5)

We oppose views that are as unchanging as something made by machine or stamped from a mold, oppose dogmatism and empiricism, which do not take the specific conditions existing at each time and place into full consideration, do not delve into the living realities of socio-economic life to review the experience that has been gained and which, instead, turn principles into something rigid, dry and lifeless, into abstract, constraining dictums, into dogmas.

We cannot find ready answers to all the problems we face in building socialism and defending the fatherland under the circumstances of our country in textbooks on theory and these books hold even fewer answers to the problems faced in the various fields of our diverse, specific revolutionary activities at each place and time. It is only on the basis of fully understanding objective laws, basic principles and our main guidelines, of clearly understanding and delving deeply into the actual situation that exists, of displaying bold creativity in our practical actions, especially tapping the dynamism and creativity of the masses and diligently learning from experience, that we can develop suitable forms and stages of development, that we can find solutions that yield results and enable us to learn important lessons so that we can continue to move forward. In this way, we will come to new realizations, arrive at new scientific generalizations and create new, specific conditions for applying principles more effectively. We must correct all inclinations toward placing sole emphasis upon experience, toward not going beyond one particular experience and having little regard for matters of principle.

On the other hand, we must resolutely criticize thoughts and actions which, although called "creative," are essentially the absence of principle, the

absence of organization, the absence of discipline and liberalism. Among our shortcomings in the organization of economic management and social management today are bureaucratic centralism and adherence to rigid principles as well as loose adherence to principles, loose organization and lax discipline within the agencies of the party, the state and social organizations. Liberalism and the habit of doing as one sees fit in complying with the resolutions, directives, positions and policies of the party, the failure to respect state laws, violations of basic principles in economic and social management, the failure to respect labor discipline, production discipline and so forth are not isolated. We must wage a determined struggle against this lax state of affairs by means of economic, administrative, educational and organizational measures, by conducting inspections, by dealing with violations in a serious and timely manner and not ignoring them. The "absolute centralism and extremely strict discipline of the proletariat"(6) and the "lock-step march of the troops of the proletariat"(7), which are in the nature of principles, do not tolerate the liberalism, the disorganization and the habit of doing as one sees fit of the small-scale producer. The resolution of the 6th Party Plenum pointed out that our shortcomings in economic management are manifestations of bureaucracy, subsidization, conservatism and inertia within the economic management system and decentralization, localism, the lack of organization and the lack of discipline. Only by correcting these mistakes and shortcomings can we succeed in improving our management along the lines of enabling the basic units and localities to display greater initiative and creativity under the centralized, unified management of the central level in areas of basic importance and providing strong incentive for laborers to work with enthusiasm.

Therefore, one of the matters of foremost importance that we face now is that of making every effort to develop the display of initiative and creativity by the various levels and sectors, by cadres and the working people and launching continuous, enduring revolutionary movements of the masses in coordination with applying scientific and technological advances, advances in the science of organization and the science of management and achieving increasingly high productivity, quality and efficiency. At the same time, we must give practical expression to our principles through forms, stages and measures and suitable procedures and policies while attaching importance to establishing a management system that is dynamic and suited to the specific circumstances and conditions during each period of time and establishing correct management regulations based on the principle of democratic centralism, a management apparatus that is effective and management methods that are responsive, consistent with reality and effective. Since the 5th Congress of the Party, our party and state have promulgated many specific, correct policies. These policies have been and are having an effect upon life and producing large results in socialist construction and the defense of the socialist fatherland. The experiences gained from the product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers within agriculture, from increasing the independence of the state-operated enterprises in their production and business and from tapping the four different sources of supplies serve as a methodology for combining principles and creativity in the practical activities of our people.

In the initial stage of the period of transition, the socialist revolution in our country must still overcome many difficulties and obstacles, still meet

many challenges. This revolution demands that we strictly observe the line of the party and establish the correct relationship between firm adherence to principles and the display of initiative and creativity within the various fields of practical activity, thereby spurring socialist construction and the defense of the socialist fatherland to new stages of development.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1981, Volume 30, p 160.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, Volume 36, p 249.
3. F. Engels: "Anti-Duhring," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1984, p 56.
4. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 41, p 164.
5. V.I. Lenin: "Marx-Engels-Marxism," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p 343.
6. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 4, p 7.
7. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, Volume 36, p 256.

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DEVELOPING THE ROLE OF WOMEN CADRES, PROMOTING THE REVOLUTIONARY ACTION  
MOVEMENT OF WOMEN

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 85 pp 53-57, 73

[Article by Nguyen Thi Dinh]

[Text] The experience of the revolutions that have taken place in the world as well as in our country proves that the liberation of women is always closely tied to national liberation, to the common revolutionary cause of the working people in their fight against oppression and exploitation and their efforts to build the new system. Every period of development of the revolution demands that the women's movement grow accordingly and, at the same time, that the conditions be created for resolving the problems related to the role of women.

The situation is the same with women cadres. Some years ago in our country, when our war of resistance against the United States for national salvation had entered its decisive stage and demanded that the tremendous revolutionary potentials of women be vigorously tapped, Party Secretariat Resolution Number 153 on women cadre work (1967) spurred the training and promotion of women cadres and gave a strong boost to the "three responsibilities in the resistance against the United States for national salvation and socialist construction" women's movement. Since then, through the gains made in the three revolutions and the widespread movement among women to enthusiastically participate in socialist transformation, socialist construction and the defense of the fatherland, the corps of women cadres has steadily developed. Besides those women engaged in mass agitation, more and more women have taken on jobs in economic management, state management, scientific and technical work, literature, art and so forth on all levels and within all sectors. Women account for 58 percent of those cadres who have a middle school education and 31 percent of college educated cadres. The 8 women who have been appointed to the position of professor and the 36 women who have been appointed to the position of assistance professor are a source of pride to our women. Some 30 percent of the cadres holding the positions from party affairs cadres to specialists are women. Within light industry, women account for 20 percent of management cadres from the position of assistant supervisor upward and 16 percent of the total number of general directors. In Hai Hung Province in 1983, 65 women were village chairwoman or vice chairwoman, 97 were directors or deputy directors of agricultural cooperatives...

Generally speaking, women cadres are responsible, determined and diligent and work hard to overcome the difficulties they face in order to complete their task. Very many advanced units are led by women cadres. Outstanding women cadres who have the trust of the masses can be found in every locality and sector.

The few facts presented above are proof of the growth that has occurred within the corps of women cadres and represent an important step forward in establishing and upholding the right of socialist collective ownership of our country's working people.

It is regrettable that efforts to guide the implementation of the party's resolution on women cadre work have not been continuous and that efforts to concretize this resolution in the form of specific policies concerning women cadres have not been timely, consequently, we have yet to truly bring about the strong development of the role played by women in the various movements. Therefore, besides the encouraging results mentioned above, there are still some problems deserving of concern.

On 7 June 1984, the Party Secretariat, in the face of the requirements of the tasks of the revolution in the new period and on the basis of the current situation concerning the corps of women cadres, issued Directive Number 44-CT/TU "Concerning a Number of Pressing Matters in Women Cadre Work."

The directive presents several phenomena deserving of attention in the recent situation concerning women cadres: "The percentage of women cadres participating in management and leadership work has declined, especially within economic management and state management agencies. The majority of the women cadres who currently hold key leadership positions on the provincial, municipal and central levels are elderly but there are very few candidates to succeed them. The percentage of women party members has also declined at many places. Many villages and some provinces in the South and the mountains have not one woman party member." The corps of women cadres is growing slowly and is lacking in stability. The percentage of women cadres within the leadership apparatus of the party and the management apparatus of the state is too low and does not correspond to the growth of the female work force and the force of women cadres. This has adversely affected efforts to uphold the right of ownership of the broad mass of women and restricted efforts to build the corps of cadres of the party and state.

The following few figures clearly show the decline in the corps of women cadres:

At present, women constitute the following percentages of the members of the various party committees: 8.8 percent of the members of the provincial and municipal party committees, 9.2 percent of the precinct and district party committees and 11.8 percent of the village and subward party committees.

Women as a Percentage of the Members  
of the People's Committees

	1965	1969	1975	1982
Members of provincial and municipal people's committees	8	13	11.7	4.49
Members of the precinct and district people's committees	12	26.4	13.6	5.1
Members of the village and subward people's committees	14	32	31	5.6
Precinct and district chairman and vice chairman (persons)		304	146	81
Village, subward chairman and vice chairman (persons)		5488	1401	260

Within the public health sector, women constitute 60 percent of the work force. Within the units that are directly subordinate to the ministry, there are 2,782 women who have a college education (51 percent of the number of persons who have a college education) and 69 women who have a post-graduate education (19.6 percent) but there are only 8 women echelon chiefs (8.7 percent), 28 deputy echelon chiefs (10.4 percent) and women cadres only account for 7 percent of the directors and deputy directors of the services subordinate to the provinces and municipalities.

Analyzing the causes of this situation, the directive of the Secretariat points out:

--On the one hand, the women cadre issue must be viewed against the historical background of the country having entered the new stage of the revolution only recently. From this perspective, we see that there are still many matters concerning which we have yet to meet requirements not only in work among women cadres, but in organizational and cadre work in general. It is necessary to recognize this objective reality so that we avoid impetuous, impatient thinking and not demand that every problem encountered in women cadre work be immediately resolved at a time when the necessary conditions do not exist.

--On the other hand, attention must be given to the subjective causes that relate to the leadership of women cadre work by the various party committee echelons and sectors. The various echelons have been lax with regard to guiding women cadre work, especially in formulating women cadre planning, have not correctly evaluated the role or impact of women cadres in socialist construction and have not concerned themselves with the special characteristics of women cadres. In addition, feudal thinking is still widely evident as are the influences of other non-proletarian thinking.

--In addition to the two factors mentioned above, mention must also be made of the shortcomings of women cadres themselves, such as the fact that some of them lack a desire to struggle and grow and are still petty-minded and jealous of others. This is also an important factor that has posed obstacles to developing the role and capabilities of women cadres.

As numerous resolutions of the party have pointed out, the tasks of the revolution demand that we launch true revolutionary action movements of the masses that are truly intense and tap the creative abilities of the tens of

millions of laborers, manual laborers as well as mental laborers, more than one-half of whom are women. Deserving of attention is the fact that women account for 70 to 80 percent of the labor directly engaged in production and work at basic units within the sectors of agriculture, industry, the handicraft trades producing consumer and export goods, distribution-circulation, public health, culture and education. Patriotic and diligent by tradition, the various strata of women have been and are making every effort to overcome each difficulty and working hard to complete their tasks. However, for many different reasons, efforts to tap the abundant potentials of women are still limited. From the availability of jobs, working conditions and health care for mothers and children to a myriad of specific concerns in their daily lives, the raising of their children, their children's education or occupation, the making of happy families and so forth, countless problems face the women at each basic unit, problems that the agencies of the party and state and the mass organizations must fully understand so that they look after the needs of women in a practical way and create the conditions for them to feel secure and content in their production and work. The pressing tasks of the revolution demand that we further develop the role played by the corps of women cadres in order to assist the party and state in resolving the problems of women and organize and launch a vigorous women's movement, a movement characterized by the spirit of the collective master, a movement to move forward and overcome each difficulty faced, to complete the tasks of the new stage.

Heightening the role of women in economic management and state management is an important element in the liberation of women, in achieving equality between men and women and has always been the unswerving policy of our party and an essential part of socialism. The role, position and life of women are one of the standards by which it is measured how civilized, how progressive a nation is. We take great pride in the fact that, in our country, complete equality between men and women is guaranteed by the Constitution and is being achieved more widely with each passing day in every field. Women's liberation has produced a large corps of women cadres who have received systematic training and been challenged in the realities of production and revolutionary struggle. With suitable policies and measures, we could quite probably establish the conditions needed to select outstanding women who show good prospects in order to train them as leadership and management cadres and gradually bring women cadres into the leadership apparatus of the party and the management apparatus of the state in a way more befitting the role of women in work, production and social activities so that the democracy and equality by which our system is characterized are expressed in a more clear and perfect manner.

On the other hand, the issue of women cadres is an issue closely tied to the requirements of building the party, of solidifying and strengthening the proletarian dictatorship state. Women cadres are a component of the overall corps of cadres of the party and state and account for 10 to 40 percent of this corps depending upon the specific level and sector. To train women cadres is to develop the inherent skills, intelligence and strengths of women in order to contribute to every aspect of the leadership provided by the party and the management work of the state. The leaders of the various sectors and levels recognize because they possess a high sense of responsibility, possess the virtues of perseverance, diligence and carefulness, women cadres,

generally speaking, make strict economic managers and rarely violate policies. Moreover, a number of the outstanding models of management to emerge in recent years are led by women, such as the Commercial Grain Corporation and Department Store Number 2 in Ho Chi Minh City, thus proving that, among women cadres, there are more than a few women who possess creative talents, who dare to think and act, who can meet the demands of the new management system.

Thus, the purpose of training women cadres, of developing the role they play is to build a strong and solid nucleus that possesses all the personal qualities and abilities needed to help build the party, help strength the state apparatus, meet the requirements faced in the work, production and lives of the masses in a fuller and more timely manner, strongly develop the collective ownership role of the working people, tap every creative potential and move the country forward. It would be a mistake to view the issue of women cadres from the narrow sexist perspective that it is an issue concerning the special interests of women cadres only, a mistake to treat it as separate and distinct from the overall cadre line and policy, as divorced from the requirements of the political task, as not tied to efforts to solve the problems of the women's movement and a mistake to promote women cadres to higher positions as "ornaments" or to maintain a specific percentage in a form for form's sake manner. However, it would also be incorrect to simply think that the issue of women cadres need not be raised, that anyone who is qualified, be they male or female, should be utilized. In actuality, there are some jobs that women cadres perform better than men cadres. Women cadres are able to more deeply understand the special characteristics, requirements and aspirations of the mass of women and represent the voice of women within the agencies of the party and state, thereby helping to strengthen the ties between the party and state and the masses. However, as mentioned above there are special circumstances and difficulties that relate to women cadres and without appropriate policies and measures, a rather large contingent of these cadres will lack the conditions they need to grow and conduct continuous activities.

The women cadres issue is a component of the cadre line and policy of the party, consequently, it can only be resolved well on the basis of successfully resolving the cadre problem, in general; at the same time, in order to implement the general cadre line and policy of the party, the issue of women cadres absolutely must be resolved well. Therefore, the issue of women cadres must be raised and resolved in a manner that is closely linked to the formulation and implementation of cadre planning by each level, each sector and each unit. In keeping with this spirit, the directive of the Secretariat sets targets for women cadres, that is, defines the positions to which more women cadres must be assigned in the years ahead as follows: increasing the number of women party committee members attending the upcoming party congresses on the various levels; in addition, women cadres are needed on the people's committees on the various levels and within the management agencies of state-operated and collective economic units at which there are many women and within those sectors whose function involves women in many ways, such as public health, education, home trade, agriculture, light industry, the food products industry, the finance sector, the bank, the labor sector, the war invalids and social welfare sector, the culture-information sector, the courts and so forth on the various leadership levels within the line departments,

staff departments, institutes, offices, sections and so forth in tasks that have much to do with setting and implementing policies concerning women, such as the labor and wage policy, the organization of cadres, etc. Women cadres are capable of displaying their capabilities in these job positions and, in actuality, there is an abundant pool of women cadres from which women can be selected to be trained in a short amount of time and promoted to these jobs.

To achieve the targets mentioned above, the directive of the Secretariat also presents positive and specific measures that should be taken, such as the following: re-examining cadre planning and the situation of women cadres and appointing fully qualified women to necessary positions; places that lack the necessary conditions to immediately promote women should select women who show good prospects and urgently provide them with training. Reflecting the experience gained in past years, when some places promoted women cadres in a rush, without making thorough preparations, and some women proved unable to perform their jobs and had to be demoted, this directive of the Secretariat stresses the need for training. The training of women must be carried out in a gradual, planned manner under specific policies and measures, thereby creating the conditions for women cadres to constantly improve their qualities, standards and skills so that each of them is fully capable of properly fulfilling her task. The requirements, subject matter, form and methods of training must be well suited to each type cadre, even to each individual cadre, in order to yield the desired results. The directive sets forth practical measures that should be taken to intensify the training of women cadres: "The domestic and overseas training schools must stipulate that an appropriate percentage of incoming students must be women; when applying standards on the acceptance of new students to women, schools should primarily consider the ability of a woman to learn and the prospects that she shows for development in her occupation and can make concessions with regard to her job seniority and current job position. In addition to general classes, forms of training must be established that are suited to women, such as special classes for the women cadres at basic units and classes for the women of a specific area, region or zone. Schools that provide formal, classroom training must organize a child care center and kindergarten so that women who have small children have a place to send their children while they study. Agencies and units must make it possible for women who have small children to accept assignments or attend schools far away by organizing child care centers and kindergartens that care for their children on a weekly or monthly basis." In particular, it is even more necessary to establish forms of very thorough training for cadres in minority areas, in areas in which religious followers are concentrated and in areas along the border.

In conjunction with providing training, creating conditions that help women to resolve the specific difficulties they encounter in their work and everyday life is a requirement of no less importance. This is not a matter of patronizing or going out of our way to do special favors for women cadres, but a correct, fair and rational policy based in science and practicality, a policy based on the health and physiological characteristics of women and their role as mothers, a role of tremendous social significance that no one else can fulfill. Policies and measures must be adopted to help women satisfy the legitimate needs they have for tools and equipment used in their work, for transportation, legitimate needs concerning their health, their living

conditions, their families, their children, etc. Expanding and improving collective welfare projects and social services are an effective way to help women devote more of their time and energy to studies and work.

In view of the requirements mentioned above, the women cadres issue cannot be quickly resolved all at once, rather, it requires a process of very intense and thorough struggle by the organization as well as by each and every woman cadre. Most importantly, we must reach a consensus in our attitudes and thinking and, on this basis, be determined to organize and guide the performance of each job set forth in the directive in a constant, steadfast and planned manner, adopt specific policies and measures, conduct preliminary and final reviews and periodically learn from our experience.

In conjunction with concern for this issue on the part of leaders, efforts by women cadres themselves are of extremely important significance. Arranging their household chores in an orderly and efficient fashion so that they can devote much of their energies to studying, to social activities and the cultivation of their virtues, qualifications and their ability to make contributions, this is the path that women cadres must take in order to develop their role, develop the impact they have in practical terms. The struggle that the woman cadre must wage is usually a very difficult and arduous struggle. Even though the various levels and sectors are concerned, the fact that women are bound by more than a few constraints from the standpoint of economic factors, customs, habits, attitudes and so forth demands that they make certain sacrifices and deal with the situation in a very tactful manner. At the same time, they must have the understanding and assistance of the collective. It is even more necessary that women cadres display love and a sense of responsibility toward one another, that they sincerely help one another make progress together. If they maintain close and constant ties to the women's movement, women cadres will find in it an inexhaustible source of stimulation, find a wide variety of innovations and learn the pressing requirements of life that propel us forward, forward to new turning points in each stage of development.

Women cadres who grow and mature, who are confident and perform their jobs well, these are things are not only in the interests of the revolution and the progress of society, but also bring happiness to the family and inspiration to husbands and children, who make significant contributions to the achievements recorded by each woman.

Secretariat Directive 44/CT-TW was only recently issued but has quickly had an impact upon life. In the first stage of implementing the directive, some localities and sectors, in full agreement with the views and contents of the directive, have conducted surveys, re-evaluated the situation concerning women cadres, reviewed their cadre work and proposed specific jobs that must be performed. A number of places have taken immediate action to resolve certain unreasonable situations, such as officially appointing fully qualified women cadres who were still "acting" chiefs after many years on the job, putting women cadres in charge of the labor and wage department, the cadre organization department and so forth. Some places have conducted studies and found ways to solve a number of pressing problems concerning the working conditions and living conditions of women. The circular issued by the

Organization Department of the Central Committee, which defines in detail the stipulations concerning the training of women cadres, further shows the various levels, sectors and women cadres the determination of the Party Central Committee.

Although many difficulties still exist, we firmly believe that, when closely tied to the steps being taken to strengthen our organization and change and improve the management system, new changes will occur in our work among women cadres, changes that will bring about the steady development of the corps of women cadres and make it the nucleus propelling the revolutionary movement of women forward to promptly meet the requirements of the new period.

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## UNDERSTANDING OUR PARTY'S CORRECT AND CREATIVE LEADERSHIP OF THE REVOLUTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 85 pp 58-64

[Article by Le Ngoc]

[Text] In its long history, our nation has recorded countless brilliant feats of arms that have brought about large changes for the country. However, there has never been a period in our country's social life in which as many profound changes of major importance have occurred so closely on the heels of one another as during the recent period, a period during which the right to lead the revolution has belonged to our party, the vanguard unit of the Vietnamese working class. The victories that our people have won over the past half-century have been closely tied to the birth and activities of our party, a party that has experienced many challenges, possesses unquestioned loyalty to the interests of the class and nation, to Marxism-Leninism and has always led the revolution in a correct and creative manner.

Studying the lessons concerning the talented leadership provided by the party is an important requirement in theoretical work and a necessary prerequisite to bringing a thorough understanding of our party's correct revolutionary line to our practical activities.

As we all know, as soon as it was born, our party set forth a correct political line, one that met the requirements of saving the country and liberating the nation, one that reflected the fervent aspirations of the broad masses. As a result, our party won the sympathy and support of the broad masses and immediately asserted its right to lead the revolution of the working class.

That our party was able to adopt a correct revolutionary line at an early date was due to the very favorable domestic and international conditions that existed back then. Our party came into existence under the large and profound influence of the Russian October Revolution, had the benefit of the broad and valuable experiences of the CPSU and other fraternal parties, was guided and assisted by the Communist International and was imbued with the spirit of unyielding, tenacious struggle of our people and nation. Of decisive significance was the role played by President Ho and a number of other elders of the party. At a time when the Vietnamese revolution faced a difficult situation, a situation "so dark that there seemed to be no way out," he and

they found Marxism-Leninism, found the light of the October Revolution and came to deeply understand the essence of the new age. They went on from there to correctly analyze the domestic and world situations and creatively apply the universal laws of revolution to the specific conditions of our country.

During the years spent preparing for the founding of the party, there were numerous debates in our country within the ranks of patriots over such basic questions as: is Marxism-Leninism a universal truth or only of value to developed capitalist countries? Is it suited to an agricultural country such as ours? Is the October Revolution only a "Russian phenomenon" or is it a revolution that has ushered in a new age in the history of mankind? Is national liberation to be achieved through a proletarian revolution or bourgeois revolution? Does the revolution fight only for the daily welfare and democracy of the people or also for basic, long-range interests? Has history entrusted the working class or the bourgeoisie with the mission of leading the revolution and so forth? These were very important questions that had a direct bearing upon the political line and determined the success or failure of the revolution. Therefore, many bitter struggles have been fought over these questions not only in the history of our country's revolution, but also in the history of the world revolutionary movement and some of these questions are still being debated today.

President Ho adopted the correct view concerning the fundamental issues of the revolution at a very early date. Because of his ardent patriotism, a patriotism that was fused with love of the working people and as a result of his many years of study and work within the worker movement and the national liberation movement, he adopted Marxism-Leninism early, calling Leninism the "most genuine, most dependable, most revolutionary of philosophies." He was quick to see the epochal significance of the Russian October Revolution and learned from it lessons useful to the Vietnamese revolution. He evaluated the bourgeois revolutions of the United States (1776), France (1789), China (1911) and Turkey (1823) from the Marxist perspective and concluded that they were not revolutions designed to completely liberate the worker. He asserted that the causes of national liberation and the liberation of society are the causes of the working class and the proletarian revolution. Only under the leadership of the working class and its vanguard party can the revolution win thorough victory...

On the basis of these fundamental realizations, President Ho worked actively and hard making the political, ideological and organizational preparations for the founding of the party.

The Summary Platform and Tactics that President Ho outlined and Tran Phu subsequently developed upon deeply reflected Lenin's thinking on combining the universal laws of revolution with the specific characteristics of the nation without overemphasizing or exaggerating national characteristics and giving light attention to universal laws or only emphasizing universal laws but giving light attention to national characteristics, which would have led to the mistakes of rightism or "leftism." In the Summary Platform and Tactics as well as in the Political Thesis of the Party, President Ho and our party gave special attention to resolving the problems involved in combining the interests of the nation with the interests of the class, genuine patriotism

with proletarian internationalism, the national liberation revolution with the proletarian revolution and the nation with the times, resolving the issue of self-reliance and international solidarity...among which national liberation was considered a pressing requirement and the strength of genuine patriotism was highly evaluated. In reality, our people's tradition of ardent patriotism and our nation's spirit of indomitable struggle against foreign aggression, by making a deep imprint upon the platform as well as the policies of the party, had a major influence upon the stages and rate of development of our country's revolution and the methods by which it has been carried out.

As a result of correctly establishing the relationships mentioned above, our party has not only avoided the mistakes of "leftism" and rightism, but also made innovations that have further enriched Marxism-Leninism from the standpoint of numerous fundamental issues of the revolution. They are: increasing the role played by the national factor while firmly adhering to the stand of the proletariat; maintaining close ties with the proletarian revolution, with the national liberation revolution in the colonies and dependent countries but taking the initiative and winning victory instead of waiting for the proletarian revolution to win victory in the advanced capitalist countries; combining Marxism-Leninism with the worker movement and the patriotic movement in the founding of the party; establishing the adoption of a correct political line by the party as the foremost standard of a Marxist-Leninist party; showing how a small country with a small population can, once it has the necessary conditions, win victory over powerful imperialists, etc.

Thus, the strongpoint that stands out above all others, the unparalleled achievement of our party in its leadership of the revolution has been its adoption of a correct and creative strategy from the very outset. This correct and creative strategy guaranteed that our country's revolution would develop in the correct direction and win extremely large victories; guaranteed steady and firm leadership by the party in every situation; guaranteed unshakeable internal unity under all circumstances. This correct strategy has helped the party overcome every difficulty encountered in the course of the revolution.

It was due to its extraordinary efforts, its diligent research and study and its breadth of strategic vision that our party was able to adopt this correct strategy.

However, the wise leadership provided by our party is seen not only in its adoption of a correct strategy, but also in its talented guidance of this strategy's implementation. On the basis of its correct strategy, the party has set and successfully achieved the specific targets of the revolution during each period of time. The victories of the revolutionary movements launched by the party since its birth have all been the result of skillfully combining its strategy with specific, immediate objectives.

In the people's national democratic revolution, movements were launched not only with the strategic slogans of "national independence" and "land to the tiller," but also with specific slogans of action suited to each point in time, such as: fighting the one enemy that posed the greatest danger; an

improvement in the people's welfare and democracy, the deferment of taxes, the reduction of taxes, increased wages and reduced working hours; resisting the conscription of labor and the campaign of terror; reducing land rents, reducing interest rates, redistributing public lands, borrowing paddy to alleviate hunger, robbing granaries to alleviate hunger... These revolutionary movements were characterized by the participation of the broad masses of every age group, every level, every stratum. Slogans that satisfied fundamental, long-range aspirations and slogans that satisfied pressing, immediate aspirations of the masses together with suitable forms of organization and struggle had the effect of strongly attracting the masses, including the backward elements of the masses.

Tran Phu, the first general secretary of the party, wrote about the importance of the two issues of strategic targets and specific targets as follows: "It would be a great mistake to not give attention to the daily needs and daily struggle of the masses. But it would also be a great mistake to only give attention to daily needs, but not to the major goals of the party." (1) This thinking has been given very profound expression throughout the entire course of our party's activities.

While it is difficult to define strategic targets, it is even more difficult to define the specific targets for each period. Because, these specific targets must precisely meet the specific, pressing requirements of the revolution and touch upon many very complex, specific issues. The revolution follows a winding path, not a straight path, to its ultimate goal. At turning points in the revolution, the situation changes rapidly, sometimes every day or every hour. At these turning points, mistakes are very easy to make. Without a well developed skill, without special political acumen it is impossible to set and achieve specific targets during each specific period of time. This is truly a science, an art.

Our party is especially adept at defining strategic tasks in detail and setting specific, accurate targets for each period and has quickly uncovered and rectified mistakes in order to constantly improve the relationship between strategy and the guidance of this strategy's implementation. At the turning points in the revolution, our party usually has had to resolve a series of complex problems, such as:

--Determining who the specific, immediate and most dangerous enemy is; determining the long-range and immediate strategy and tactics of the enemy as well as their strengths and weaknesses; determining what the new configuration of forces will be and who the strategic allies and temporary allies of the revolution are; and determining our ability to exploit the antagonisms within the ranks of the enemy.

--Determining in which stage the revolution is (developing or subsiding, in a period preceding an uprising or a period in which conditions for an uprising have ripened, etc.).

--Studying the basic, long-range aspirations as well as the present attitude and pressing requirements of the masses.

--Correctly evaluating the comparison of forces between ourselves and the enemy.

--Correctly evaluating the advantages in our favor and the difficulties we face at home, within the region and throughout the world; correctly combining the goals of our country's revolution with the goals of the world revolution and the impact of the Vietnamese revolution with the impact of the world revolution.

--Determining what, if a maximum effort is made, the revolution can realistically be expected to achieve during a given period of time.

--Defining the contents and forms of expression of the general line in a manner suited to each period, that is, defining guidelines, tasks, the forces against which the struggle is to be waged, the forms of organization and forms of struggle and the way in which these forms are to be coordinated.

It is not a simple or easy matter to correctly recognize all that is involved in the matters of major importance presented above and correctly express all that they entail in practical terms. It demands a correct viewpoint, scientific methodology, political skill and talent in the art of leadership. In reality, our party has been able to meet these requirements and set and meet specific targets of the revolution sometimes within the space of a few years, sometimes within the space of a few months and, in some cases, in the space of only a few weeks.

The reason why our party has been able to quickly and correctly resolve the problems presented above is that our party has the following three conditions in its favor:

1. It possesses special political acumen and, in some cases, this acumen has been guided by correct strategy adopted previously. One example: at the national conference of the party held on 14 August 1945, the party made the following assessment: "The antagonism between the two ally camps of Great Britain-France and the United States-China over the Indochina issue is something of which we must take advantage"; "the antagonism between Great Britain-the United States-France and the Soviet Union might result in Great Britain and the United States making concessions to France and allowing France to return to Indochina." (2) In late February and early March, 1946, because it was already being guided by a correct strategy, our party was able to quickly make the decision to shift from making peace with Jiang so that efforts could be focused on resisting the French aggressors to temporarily making peace with France in order to quickly drive Jiang's forces back to China.

2. It possesses the ability to correctly analyze many complex international issues and thus lays the foundation needed to correctly resolve domestic issues. For example, the reasons why our party launched the August General Uprising in 1945 were because it had correctly analyzed and assessed the situation that existed in the world at that time, saw that the Japanese fascists had collapsed and quickly recognized that we could take the initiative and launch the national liberation revolution in our country

against that historical background. In the late 1950's and early 1960's, our party observed that the world revolution had been on the offensive since the end of World War II and, therefore, that the Vietnamese revolution must be based on the thinking of taking the offensive. During the years from 1954 to 1967, our party frequently said that the United States is wealthy but not strong, that the United States had been defeated at many places in the world and that our people would surely defeat the U.S. imperialists in their war of aggression.

3. It possesses very high revolutionary determination and firm confidence in itself. Possessing revolutionary determination is the prerequisite to political acumen; conversely, political acumen makes this revolutionary determination more solid. Because we did not fear the United States we quickly found highly efficient ways to fight the United States. The victories won in the resistance against the United States strengthened our people's spirit of determination to fight and win.

The above mentioned strongpoints of the party are not natural endowments. They are the result of tireless study, of constantly forging these strengths in the long and continuous struggle by our party. They have made our party, in the words of Lenin a "political sage."

In its work of setting the specific targets of the revolution during each period and organizing efforts to successfully meet them, our party has also made major innovations and learned many valuable lessons. They are the lessons we have learned about how to gradually win victory over the enemy; how to determine who our specific, immediate and most dangerous enemy is; how to adroitly exploit the antagonisms within the enemy's ranks; how to predict when a strategic opportunity will arise; how to skillfully combine the various forms of struggle and rapidly employ a new form of struggle when the situation changes; how to win the support of all forces that can be won over in order to broaden the United National Front on the basis of the firm alliance between workers and farmers; how to build a combined strength, etc.

The experience of our party points out that while focusing our efforts on our specific, immediate targets and tasks, we must also give attention to our long-range strategic tasks. Every immediate task must be carried out on the basis of insuring that strategic targets are met, must fully reflect the thinking embodied in our strategic targets and must support our strategic tasks. Strategic targets and specific targets are always closely related. They determine and have an impact upon one another. This relationship is similar to the relationship that exists between winning victory gradually and winning total victory. In each different period of a stage of the revolution, specific targets might differ but the thread that runs through all periods is that the strategy embodied in the general line is the same. Specific targets are the expression of this strategy at a particular point in time and at a particular place.

Analyzing the lessons and experiences that were learned and gained concerning the leadership provided by our party during the people's national democratic revolution, General Secretary Le Duan pointed out: "By seizing and brandishing the banners of national independence and democracy through the two

strategic slogans of 'national independence' and 'land to the tiller,' our party was able to bring the mass of farmers under the leadership of the working class and mobilize the other strata of the people to join workers and farmers in marching into revolutionary battle against the imperialists and feudalists. In the course of the revolution, these strategic tasks have been defined in the form of specific targets suited to each period based on the analysis of specific class relationships and our ability to divide the ranks of the imperialists and feudalists in order to focus the flame of revolution on our most dangerous enemy during each period. However, regardless of the period, the specific political targets and tasks set by the party have basically encompassed the two factors of national independence and democracy and basically been closely tied to the two tasks of fighting the imperialists and fighting the feudalists."(3)

The laws of revolution are implemented through the activities of man. The correct line of the party opens the way for the development of the creativity and initiative of the masses. Within the revolutionary movement, advanced models and examples of good persons and good work are always emerging; at the same time, shortcomings and weaknesses are revealed that must be rectified and corrected. Therefore, our party always attaches importance to reviewing practice in order to continuously supplement and improve upon its line, in order to reach and improve upon its theoretical conclusions. The activities of our party prove that reviewing practice is a very important requirement in leading the revolution, is a necessary prerequisite to augmenting and improving upon the line and policies of the party. Theoretical conclusions that are of value and the display of creativity by the party are always closely tied to the review of practice.

We know that history holds no shortage of examples of practice being reviewed inaccurately. For example, when drawing experience from the failed uprisings in the cities, some reached the mistaken conclusion that only protracted struggle can be waged in the cities. Our party also drew experience from the failure of uprisings in the localities but, instead of concluding that local uprisings were impossible, asserted that, under certain conditions, it is possible to lead local uprisings in order to eventually achieve a general uprising.

Thus, it is clear that our party, in its entire review of practice, has not only firmly adhered to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, but also firmly adhered to the method of Marxism-Leninism.

Today, under the leadership of the party, the people of our entire country are carrying out two strategic tasks: successfully building socialism and firmly defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland. The laws of the socialist revolution are not the laws of the people's national democratic revolution but, in the socialist revolution, it is also necessary to resolve a number of problems pertaining to the relationship between strategy and the guidance of its implementation, between tactics and the guidance of tactics. Although we have recorded initial, very significant victories in concretizing the line of the party on the socialist revolution and its economic line in the form of specific tasks and targets during the initial stage of the period of transition, in establishing a good relationship among agriculture, light

industry and heavy industry, a good relationship between capital formation and consumption, a good relationship among the interests of the state, the collective and the individual laborer, a good relationship between transformation and construction and so forth, it is clear that we must still continue to conduct research, conduct reviews and supplement what we have done in order to constantly make improvements and achieve larger results. In particular, we must struggle to overcome such shortcomings and weaknesses as rightism, subjective impetuosity, conservative inertia, localism...

Although the valuable experiences gained by our party in past years are not all that we need to help us resolve the new and complex problems we face today, they are an indispensable part of our thinking and efforts to resolve the issues of the socialist revolution.

As we study the history of our party's 55 years of existence, we see in our party a most convincing model of the successful application of Marxist-Leninist theory to the specific conditions of our country, of methods by which problems are examined and resolved, of extraordinary revolutionary energy in overcoming every difficulty and advancing straight forward and of the party's skill and talent in organization and guidance. It is on this basis that we can creatively apply the valuable experiences of the party to the new historical conditions that exist now.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Van kien dang, 1930-1945,"[Party Proceedings, 1930-1945], published by the Department of Research on Party History of the Party Central Committee, Hanoi, 1978, p 76.
2. "Van kien dang, 1939-1945"[Party Proceedings, 1939-1945], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, p 548.
3. Le Duan: "Duoi la co ve vang cua Dang, vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghia xa hoi, tien len giahnh nhung thang loi moi,"[Advancing Under the Glorious Banner of the Party To Win New Victories for Independence, Freedom and Socialism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 16.

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FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FIRST COMMUNIST PARTY CHAPTER TO THE MERGER OF  
COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF OUR PARTY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 85 pp 65-70, 76

[Article by The Tap]

[Text] As we know, the birth of our party in early 1930 was the result of an entire process of comprehensive and very detailed preparations by Nguyen Ai Quoc. In 1927, he said: "I know that I must endure many difficulties, must persevere in my efforts but the existence of a communist party...will create the conditions for correctly organizing and leading the work of liberating the nation and society of Vietnam."(1)

Below are some aspects of the process by which our party came into existence--from the establishment of the first communist party chapter to the merger of communist organizations in order to found the party.

Under what conditions and circumstances was the first communist party chapter formed? By mid-1927, especially by 1928, the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth had a network of organizations extending from the zone to the provincial and district levels and, at some places, even to the village level, in Tonkin. The statutes of the association required that "members agitate among the masses." In late 1928, in the "proletarianization" movement, many of the association's members eagerly went to work in factories, mines and plantations to propagandize, agitate, organize and lead workers and peasants in struggle. Due to the French imperialists' policy of intensifying their plundering and exploitation in the colonies, our country's working class developed rapidly and became concentrated within the large enterprises, the plantations and the mines. The base of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth and the struggle of workers spread to the brewery, the power plant and the aviation works in Hanoi, to the cement plant, the bottle factory and the port in Haiphong, to the textile mill and spinning mill in Nam Dinh, to the Hon Gai, Cam Pha and Mao Khe mines, etc. A Trade Union organization began to be built in the large enterprises. Under the influence of the Russian October Revolution and Marxist-Leninist propaganda, Vietnamese workers soon became aware of the rights of their class, outgrew the stage of spontaneous, scattered, local struggles and entered the stage of conscious, organized struggles that had leaders at their head and were characterized by coordination and mutual assistance among the workers of the various sectors

and localities. The number and quality of the struggles waged by workers increased very quickly. The Vietnamese workers' movement gradually became the nucleus and center of the revolutionary campaign to achieve national liberation in our country.

A peasant movement also broke out at many places to oppose the theft of cropland, the onerous taxes, the conscription of labor and troops and so forth by the imperialists and landowners. The Peasant Association was organized within many localities...

As the movement of the working class and peasants grew, it demanded a leadership staff armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism. As a result of the communist propaganda they had received, workers and peasants wanted very much to learn about communism and the life of their brother workers and peasants in Soviet Russia... More and more Vietnamese workers and peasants leaned toward communism and the members of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth had to reappraise their role and that of their organization. "Youth" members who had not been accepted into a communist organization were still conducting communist propaganda... The Tonkin organization of "Youth" had to discuss the important issues of the conditions necessary for the founding of the communist party, the party of the Vietnamese working class, a union of workers and peasants (the alliance of workers and farmers was not yet being discussed) and the dictatorship of the proletariat many times. The cadres of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth gained some understanding of these issues from their political studies in Canton, from reading the book "The Road to Revolution" and from reading the weekly newspaper THANH NIEN but they did not understand these issues fully. Concerning the issue of making the necessary political, ideological and organizational preparations for the founding of the communist party in Vietnam, some comrades recalled and repeated the words written by Nguyen Ai Quoc in THANH NIEN Newspaper: to achieve thorough victory, the Vietnamese revolution must be under the leadership of a political party of the Vietnamese working class, a party armed with Marxist-Leninist theory. He also stressed the class character of that party... When debating these issues, the members of the Tonkin organization of "Youth" recognized that the birth of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth in 1925 was consistent with the social and historical conditions of Vietnam but that the association had completed its historic mission of making the political, ideological and organizational preparations for the founding of a political party of the Vietnamese working class. The agenda and form of the "Youth" organization were now no longer consistent with the situation and tasks of the Vietnamese revolution. In late 1928, in the midst of the sharp debate over the issue of establishing the communist party in Vietnam, the members of the "Youth" regional committee were very pleased to receive a copy of "The Thesis on the Revolutionary Movement in the Colonial and Semi-Colonial Countries" of the 6th Congress of the Communist International. This document clearly defined the tasks, character, revolutionary forces and role as leader of the revolution of the working class in the colonies and semi-colonial countries. It shed light on the issues that were being intensely debated within the Tonkin organization and, in particular, evaluated the role played by the working class in the colonies since the 5th Congress of the Communist International, with emphasis

upon the leadership role of the proletariat and its vanguard unit, the communist party.

Recognizing the communist party as the vanguard unit of the working class was not an easy matter at that time because the majority of the members of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth were petty bourgeois intellectuals and students who had joined the revolution for patriotic reasons and wanted to liberate their fellow countrymen. Moreover, they had been born and grew up in a colonial, semi-feudal country, a country in which the economy consisted mainly of a backward agriculture, a country in which the working class was still very small. That they were able to recognize the communist party as the vanguard unit of the working class was the result of a long process of study, research and training and the difficult struggle waged within the movement of the masses and within the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth.

Through that process of difficult struggle, the first communist party chapter of our country was born in late March, 1929, at number 5D Ham Long Street in Hanoi. This party chapter consisted of the members of the regional and provincial organizations of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth in Tonkin. The conference convened to found the party chapter confirmed the role played by the working class in leading the revolution and observed that the conditions needed to found the party had ripened. However, the conferees unanimously agreed that in order to avoid a split among the delegates of Annam, Cochin China and Tonkin, a communist party should not be immediately organized, only a communist party chapter. They would wait until the upcoming national congress of "Youth," which would be attended by a full slate of delegates from Annam, Cochin China and Tonkin and be presided over by a central committee, to debate and decide that issue. The first communist party chapter did, however, debate and reach agreement concerning the tasks of the chapter:

1. The chapter had to persuade delegates attending the upcoming national congress of delegates of "Youth" at Hong Kong to endorse the establishment of the communist party. To do this, local delegates attending the "Youth" congress of delegates in Tonkin had to be persuaded to elect delegates from the first communist party chapter to attend the "Youth" national congress of delegates.

2. The existence of the party chapter had to be kept secret but its membership had to be increased and party cells and party chapters had to be established in the various provinces. The party chapter had to maintain the membership of the Tonkin organization of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth and guide and encourage these persons to continue their work and enthusiastically go "proletarianize"; at the same time, it had to develop the Trade Union and Peasant Association, conduct communist propaganda, lead the struggles of the masses and, through these efforts, increase the number of communist party members.

3. The chapter assigned two comrades the task of drafting documents, such as the Political Platform, the Manifesto and the Statutes of the communist party. (\*)

The founding of the first communist party chapter marked a victory for proletarian thinking in the struggle against petty bourgeois thinking and made the political, ideological and organizational preparations for the subsequent birth of the Indochinese Communist Party.

By 1929, how had the revolutionary movement in Indochina developed? "In Vietnam today, from the South to the North...there are communists or communist party chapters everywhere, even Trade Unions, Peasant Associations and Confederations of Trade Unions at some places. Here and there, the Red flag flies over Indochina. Demonstrations and strikes have replaced the leaflets and slogans of the first communists to come forth and lead the masses...

This exciting spectacle clearly showed us that Vietnam's revolutionary movement was about to break into a new wave."(2)

The subjective and objective conditions needed for the founding of a revolutionary political party of the working class in Vietnam had fully developed. When this issue was raised at the regional congress of "Youth" in Tonkin, which was held in late March, 1929 at a plantation in Son Tay Province (present day Ha Son Binh Province), it was debated with great fervor and intensity by the delegates in attendance and the decision to found the communist party was unanimously endorsed. The congress elected four of the members of the first communist party chapter as delegates to the "Youth" national congress of delegates and assigned these delegates the responsibility of raising the issue of establishing the communist party and struggling to achieve this goal at the national congress. However, at the "Youth" national congress held in Hong Kong (May 1929), the majority of delegates did not endorse the proposal of the Tonkin delegation concerning the establishment of the communist party. As a result, the Tonkin delegation announced that it was withdrawing from the congress, immediately returned home and, along with the other members of the first communist party chapter, began promoting the establishment of the communist party.

On 17 June 1929, more than 20 delegates of the newly organized communist party chapters in the provinces of Tonkin met at number 312 Cam Thien Street in Hanoi. They decided to found the Indochinese Communist Party, adopted the Manifesto and the Statutes of the party and adopted as the party's banner a red flag emblazoned with the hammer and sickle. The Manifesto clearly defined the party's character: "the Indochinese Communist Party is a revolutionary party representing the entire proletariat in Indochina; the communist party does not consist of the entire proletariat, only of those members of the proletariat who possess the greatest revolutionary awareness, who are the most progressive." "The party defends the rights of the entire proletariat, of all impoverished peasants and all exploited and oppressed laborers." The party's organization was to be built by bringing the best, the most progressive, the most zealous members of "Youth" into the party. Those members of "Youth" who endorsed the Political Platform, the Manifesto and the Statutes of the party but did not actively participate in its activities were organized into groups of party sympathizers called "support cells." The goals of the party were to "bring down imperialism and capitalism, eradicate feudalism, liberate workers and peasants, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, abolish the classes and achieve a society of true equality, freedom and fraternity, that

is, communist society." The party endorsed the line of the Communist International and acknowledged the necessity for the revolution to be led by the proletariat. The party's first task was to carry out the revolution against the imperialists and landowners, that is, the bourgeois democratic revolution, establish the dictatorship of workers and peasants, advance to the socialist revolution and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. The party had to organize the Red Confederation of Trade Unions, develop the Peasant Association, the Students' Association, the Women's Liberation Association and so forth, establish a propaganda agency of the Central Committee and publish BUA LIEM Newspaper. The Conference To Found the Indochinese Communist Party elected a provisional Party Central Committee, appointed a Standing Committee and assigned a number of comrades the task of travelling to Annam and Cochin China to develop basic organizations of the party. Immediately after its founding, the Indochinese Communist Party led strikes by workers at the aviation works in Hanoi, workers in Haiphong, Saigon, Nam Dinh, Vinh, Hon Gai, etc.

Waging a determined struggle to found the party was a correct, timely and astute policy that met the pressing requirements of the worker movement and the patriotic movement within our country. The birth of the Indochinese Communist Party was consistent with the inevitable trend of development of the history of the Vietnamese revolution. The influence of the party spread quickly and strongly attracted the most zealous activists within the "Youth" organization and even the New Vietnam Party organization (in Annam, some members of the New Vietnam Party also joined the Indochinese Communist Party and, in Cochin China, a number of bases of the Indochinese Communist Party were established).

In August, 1929, in the face of the strong growth of the Indochinese Communist Party, some leaders and members of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth who were active in Canton, China and in Cochin China also organized communist party chapters and subsequently announced the founding of the Annamese Communist Party. Following the exchange of many letters with the Indochinese Communist Party and still unable to bring about a merger, the Annamese Communist Party issued a communique explaining the reasons why it was founded. It promulgated its Party Statutes, began the publication of the BOLSHEVIK REVIEW as the theoretical and training organ of its members, organized mass organizations for workers, peasants, women, youths and students and led numerous strikes by workers in Cochin China.

Following the founding of the Indochinese Communist Party and the Annamese Communist Party, the most zealous members of the New Vietnam Party, who were communist in leaning, proposed that the membership of the New Vietnam Party join the Indochinese Communist Party. However, the Indochinese Communist Party demanded the dissolution of the New Vietnam Party and that it be allowed to select whom among the membership of the New Vietnam Party it wanted as members of the Indochinese Communist Party. After discussing this issue on many different occasions and failing to reach agreement, the progressive members of the New Vietnam Party organized chapters of the New Vietnam Communist League. In January, 1930, on the basis of these chapters, the Indochinese Communist League was born and began conducting activities, primarily in the provinces of northern Annam.

Before they were unified, all three of these communist organizations made every effort to conduct activities, to achieve recognition by the Communist International. They all proclaimed themselves to be genuine communist parties and attacked one another, competing for influence among the working class and laboring people. In October, 1929, the Communist International assessed the situation in Indochina as follows: "The absence of a single communist party at a time when the mass movement of workers and peasants is developing with each passing day poses a very serious danger to the future of the revolution in Indochina. Therefore, the vacillation and indecision on the part of a few groups over the issue of whether or not to immediately establish a communist party are mistakes..."(3) The antagonisms that existed then among the communist organizations in our country were not a matter of their being opposed to each other's stand, thinking and political line, but the result of differences over the principles and methods for uniting the communist organizations and the result of personal prejudices, competing for influence and a number of misunderstandings.

At that time when the communist organizations within our country were split by disagreement, only Nguyen Ai Quoc had the prestige and skill needed to unify them and establish a genuine party of the Vietnamese working class. At the conference of delegates of the various communist organizations(\*\*) that he convened and presided over on behalf of the Communist International, the most important issue, the issue with which the delegates were especially concerned, was that of unifying the communist organizations in order to establish a political party of the working class and achieve unified leadership by the party. In keeping with that spirit, after the delegates of the Indochinese Communist Party and the Annamese Communist Party reported on the situation and the revolutionary line of their organizations, Nguyen Ai Quoc concluded: "All of you are following the line of the Communist International, all of you advocate carrying out a bourgeois democratic revolution and advancing to a socialist revolution without experiencing the stage of capitalist development, all of you are revolutionaries. Thus, there are no differences among you."(\*\*\*) The delegates also engaged in serious criticism and self-criticism of their shortcomings, promised to leave their personal prejudices and old disputes behind and endorsed the decision to unite the various communist organizations. When one delegate wanted to say something additional concerning the shortcomings reflected in their attitudes toward one another, Nguyen Ai Quoc stopped him and reminded the delegates that any further disagreements over specific details would be worked out later so that they could spend their time discussing the plan to unify the communist organizations... Amongst themselves, some of the delegates said: "We have long been seeking to establish liaison with the Communist International in order to have our organization recognized by it. This is the first time that we have met with a representative of the Communist International. If we fail to achieve the merger of our organizations simply because we disagree over a few minor points, points that are not of basic importance, we will miss an opportunity and might not have another chance to meet with a representative of the Communist International. Therefore, we endorse the merger..."(\*\*\*\*) At the same time, the RED REVIEW, the propaganda organ of the Annamese Communist Party, published a fervent appeal: "Comrades, our burden is heavy, our road is long. We must quickly regroup, must concentrate our forces and wit and use words as the weapon in struggle so that Vietnam quickly has an official

communist party of its own, one that becomes a chapter of the Communist International, one that mans the same battle line as the proletariat and oppressed peoples of the world, one that struggles under the orders and plans of the general staff and the Communist International.

"The workers and peasants, the proletariat of the world are watching us with great anticipation. We must, therefore, quickly unite within one official party."(4)

The fact that the merger of the communists organizations in our country was carried out smoothly and quickly was the result of the following basic factors: the pressing requirements of the worker movement and patriotic movement of our people at that time; the aspirations and correct attitude of the delegates who attended the Conference To Found the Party; the concern shown by the Communist International and the guidance it provided; the unquestioned prestige of Nguyen Ai Quoc, the method he used to bring about the merger, a method based in principle and science, and the correct attitude he had.

Organizationally, the unifying the communist organizations within the Vietnamese Communist Party was not simply a matter of merging these organizations with one another nor combining the various communist organizations as one by incorporating all of their members within one organization, rather, members of the new party were selected, party chapters were established and strengthened and the new party came into existence on the basis of a correct political line and organizational line as reflected in the summary platform, the summary tactics and the summary statutes of the party and the appeal issued on the occasion of the founding of the party. Not all of the members of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth became members of the communist party. Of the association's 1,750 members, only 146 were accepted into the party following the merger of the various communist organizations.(\*\*\*\*\*) As regards the New Vietnam Party, only a number of members who were communist in leaning, endorsed the line of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth and had been challenged became members of the Indochinese Communist League. All of the first communists of Vietnam were instructed, either directly or indirectly, in Marxism-Leninism, the line of the Vietnamese revolution, revolutionary ethics and work methods by Nguyen Ai Quoc through training classes, through the organization of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth, through books and newspapers, such as "The Road to Revolution," the THANH NIEN Weekly Newspaper, etc. They had been forged and challenged within the struggle of the masses and the "proletarianization" movement.

Thus, the unifying of the various communist organizations to found the Vietnamese Communist Party (in October, 1930, it changed its name to the Indochinese Communist Party), represented the creative application of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism on party building to the specific historical circumstances of our country.

The birth of our party was also the result of a process of determined struggle by the Vietnamese revolutionaries trained by Nguyen Ai Quoc against the anti-nationalist reformism of the reactionary feudalists and bourgeoisie who were the lackeys of the imperialists and against the reformist nationalism that the French colonialists employed to nullify and disorient the struggle of the masses as well as against other erroneous ideological and political trends.

In his report to the Communist International on the Vietnamese revolution, Nguyen Ai Quoc evaluated the unifying of the various communist organizations and the establishment of our party as follows: "Today, the different communist organizations have united within one party and the activities conducted are sure to be much improved... We can feel firmly assured that, with the experience they have gained, with their spirit of sacrifice and with the masses by their side, the communists will surely win victory."(5)

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Excerpt from an article entitled "From Outcast to President of His Country" by Francois Bioux, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France, printed in NHAN DAN Newspaper, 10 October 1969.
- \* As related by Tran Van Cung, one of the participants in the founding of the first communist party chapter.
2. Excerpt from the collection "The Documents of the Organizations that Preceded the Party," published by the Department of Research on Party History, 1977, p 354.
3. Excerpt from the letter from the Communist International to the communist organizations in Vietnam dated 27 October 1929 ("Party Documents," Volume 1930, p 9).
- \*\* The Indochinese Communist League, which was founded in January, 1930, was not founded in time to send delegates to this conference.
- \*\*\* Ibid.
- \*\*\*\*As told by Trinh Dinh Cuu, one of the persons who attended the Conference To Found the Party.
4. RED REVIEW (on file at the Archives of the Office of the Party Central Committee).
- \*\*\*\*\*Hong The Cong: "Du thao ve phong trao cong san Dong duong," [Outline of Indochinese Communist Movement], French version, the Archives of the Office of the Party Central Committee.



5. Nguyen Ai Quoc: "Bao cao ve tinh hinh cach mang Viet nam dau nam 1930,"  
[Report on the Vietnamese Revolution in Early 1930] (on file at the  
Archives of the Office of the Party Central Committee).

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IDEOLOGICAL ACTIVITIES: REMEMBERING

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 85 pp 71-73

[Article by Nhuan Vu]

[Text] Just as "running water erodes a stone," time causes our memory to fade. Some persons have very long memories, others forget very quickly.

But regardless of whether our members are long or short, historic events still occurred, still accompany the earth as it revolves around the sun and are recalled to mind by their 1 year, 10 year, 40 year, 50 year...anniversaries.

The past, the present and the future, linked one to the other in an orderly progression, form the chain of life of every nation and people, of every person.

Therefore, is it not the purpose of major celebrations and anniversaries of important events in the life of the nation to refresh our memory of those persons who participated in those events and recall past glories as well as "remember the hardships of the past"(Ode to the Mountain Gold--Nguyen Trai), to remind the generations that succeeded them, the beneficiaries of gains made in the past, to "be thankful for what they have."

The book that tells the glorious history of the Communist Party of Vietnam begins with the name of the revered Uncle Ho and the date of the party's founding inscribed in gold. From the distance past, like the throbbing of a drum beat, we are spurred on by the struggles of the Nghe Tinh Soviets, by the Nam Ky Uprising... Countless comrades who preceded us gave their lives and with the blood they shed made the banner of the party, of the revolution an even brighter red. The images of Tran Phu, Le Hong Phong, Nguyen Van Cu, Ngo Gia Tu, Hoang Van Tu...have loomed ever larger with the passage of time.

So precious to us are the strips of film that record images of Uncle Ho, the rolls of tape on which his voice is recorded. He lives forever with the nation. When we won victory in our cause of liberating the nation and reunifying the fatherland, each Vietnamese felt as though "Uncle Ho was with us on that joyous day of our great victory." Today, the image of Uncle Ho

constantly shines in the star of the national flag of Vietnam, lighting the way for us in our socialist construction and defense of the Vietnamese fatherland.

We remember events in the past to remember the persons who participated in them, remember who we ourselves were back then.

Of the countless things to be remembered, no one can help but remember the troops of Uncle Ho. Fighting the enemy while raising food for themselves, they went from one campaign into another, needing only "tougher feet and softer rocks," their one thought being to win victory over the enemy, never whether they themselves would live or die. As they passed from one village to the next within the battlefield deployment of the people's war, they met "old soldiers" and "soldiers' mothers" who cared for them and teenagers and children flocked to their sides wherever they went. They completed every mission and defeated every enemy just to hear our people and the people of the world call them by the simple and affectionate words "Uncle Ho's troops," words reflecting respect and love.

Who can think of the word "campaign" and not think of the civilian laborers. The men who pushed the rice carts, the women who carried the cases of ammunition on their shoulders, climbed mountain passes and crossed streams, their eyes constantly looking ahead to where our troops were. And who among them did not leave a family behind? The men left behind old mothers, frail wives, gardens left untended, leaky roofs that they did not have time to repair. The women left behind several small children, their field work, their chickens and pigs. Setting everything aside, trusting everything to the care of their neighbors, they carried their loads behind the troops of Uncle Ho so that our troops had the rice and ammunition needed to fight and defeat the enemy. Their only joy and reward was to see an enemy post in flames so that they could tell their neighbors about a victory when they returned home. Every year, when its anniversary comes upon us, those "veteran civilian laborers" "tell and retell stories of Dien Bien Phu."

While countless examples of bravery and sacrifice in battle were set in the cause of national liberation, in defending the socialist fatherland, there have also been untold examples of dedicated and unselfish labor in the cause of socialist construction.

In the factories and enterprises of the cities, in the fields of the countryside, at worksites and state farms at one place or another, the laboring people of Vietnam have been and are still there, the communist party members of Vietnam have been and are still there, steadfastly performing their jobs, mindless of their hardships and fatigue, determined to complete their task. When the bombs of the enemy sowed disaster everywhere during the war, when floods, typhoons, heat, drought and all sorts of natural disasters wreaked their havoc, the rear area kept itself solid and strong in order to capably support the frontlines in winning victory and, when victory was won, joined the rest of the country in taking new strides forward in every area.

Too numerous to mention are all the persons deserving of our appreciation, deserving of our love, deserving of our respect, deserving of being remembered and cherished by the people of today and the generations of tomorrow.

Some of today's party members were among the contemporaries of Ho Chi Minh, who took the lead in facing adversity and danger, who set examples of withstanding difficulties and meeting challenges.

Among the persons of the age of Ho Chi Minh, who took the lead in facing adversity and danger, who set examples of endurance in the face of difficulties and challenges, there were party members, too. The party member lived within the hearts of the people, fought for the party, the fatherland, the people and was protected and assisted by the people. The party member conducted activities within the enemy's rear in every position and field of work. The party was everywhere. The image of the banner of our esteemed party is deeply imprinted on the heart of each patriotic Vietnamese. It is from this that the invincible power of the Vietnamese people's war stems. It is also the source of our invincible strength today. Such are our people, our party.

Not everyone is perfect. Not every job has been completed, everyone is different and displays different weaknesses and shortcomings in their work. However, in ranks that stretch endlessly, the people, cadres, party members and one succeeding generation after another have wholeheartedly followed the party, followed Uncle Ho, "made history" and reached glorious milestones along the road to great victory. Therefore, as we celebrate the dates in the history of the party, of the nation and as part of the common pride we all feel, each of us can feel a special pride in ourself.

The past is like a reflection, a mirror. In that mirror we see the events, scenes, persons and even ourselves in the months and years that have passed. As we peer into that mirror we cannot help feel troubled when we ask the reflection of ourselves that we see: are we different today from what we were yesterday? Are we more capable today or less? Our ethics, are they more solid or less? Are the persons who belong to the generation of the "glorious age" now still capable of setting an examples for their successors?

As we look around ourselves, we see a new society marching forward. We see countless persons and things deserving of pride, deserving of being remembered. However, there are some persons who are using their past image to conceal who they are today, thus distorting how others see them, distorting how they see themselves and beclouding the mirror that is the past.

Thus, "remembering" is not a simple issue. It is not merely a matter of replaying a piece of film on the past. To remember is first to recall the service performed by the party, the service performed by the masses, by the collective, to remember the lessons of the past, remember the qualities cultivated by others, by ourselves. Our purpose here in remembering is not to "reminisce" but to improve ourselves, to develop upon the good and beautiful things of the past and, from the values of the past, create new and more beautiful values.

The mirror of the past holds countless reminders that we should carry with us today and in the future.

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## ON STRENGTHENING THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTY AND THE MASSES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 85 pp 74-76

[Article by Phan Van Dang]

[Text] Marxist-Leninist theory as well as the entire experience of our party confirm: the party's most important source of strength lies in the close ties between it and the masses. This is not only a truth, it is also a standard by which the loyalty of communists to the revolutionary cause of the party is measured.

Facts have shown that the economic, cultural, social and other achievements recorded in recent years have been the result of strenuous efforts by the masses under the leadership of the party and also the result of strengthening the ties between the party and the masses. On the other hand, shortcomings and persistent inaction in many areas of work and actions by cadres and party members that do not set good examples have affected the confidence of the masses, affected efforts to develop the leadership strength of the party. Recently, public opinion and legitimate reactions by the masses concerning the shortcomings and weaknesses mentioned above, especially shortcomings in the implementation of economic policy, have reached the point where they cannot be ignored.

It can be forthrightly stated that anyone who denies the legitimate reactions of the masses is clearly suffering from an acute case of bureaucracy. Anyone who recognizes the situation but allows it to go on is guilty of irresponsibility. Moreover, anyone who uses their power to threaten and suppress others commits an unpardonable crime.

Giving one's attention to examining and acting upon the legitimate demands of the masses is totally different from allowing the masses to take the lead. Anyone who considers giving these matters their attention to be "allowing the masses to take the lead" is doing nothing more than trying to conceal the bureaucracy from which they suffer and their disregard for the masses. When persons who have this attitude encounter problems in their work, they usually blame them on the masses instead of seeing their own mistakes. This attitude is totally foreign to the revolutionary character of our party.

Facts have shown that the trust that the masses have in the party, the trust that they have in leadership is based on the actions of the various leadership levels, of cadres and party members corresponding with what they say. The masses only trust their leaders when their leaders have trust in them. The masses only listen to their leaders when their leaders listen to them. This is how the relationship between the party and the masses is expressed. It shows us that in order to become vanguard leaders of the masses we must, in addition to what we must think about and do for the masses, also give our attention to examining what the masses think about us.

Recently, the masses at many places have had some bitter words to say about a number of cadres building houses for themselves with money from illegitimate sources of income, illegally taking possession of land, making themselves wealthy through illicit businesses... The masses have also been frankly asking how these cadres could ever do such things if they are not stealing public property, not taking bribes or not conspiring with dishonest merchants? In addition, at some places, there are still complaints about unfairness in the distribution of agricultural supplies and consumer goods and about threats and retaliation when informing on the illegal actions of some persons in positions of authority.

In the context of the relations between the party and masses as defined above, we see the recent shortcomings in party building even more clearly and are made even more deeply aware of the very high price that we must pay for shortcomings in economic work, such as subjectivism, disregard for the law, economic policy that is not closely tied to social policy... Also as a result of these shortcomings, the confidence that the masses have in the party has been somewhat reduced, efforts to strengthen the alliance of workers and farmers have been affected, the right of ownership of the people is not being implemented well and the strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not being fully exercised.

The realities of life teach us that economics and politics are inseparable. In the present relationship between the party and the masses, the socio-economic factor is indispensable. Therefore, the resolutions of the party must fully reflect the legitimate aspirations and the experiences of the masses and deeply reflect the ties between the party and the masses. Cadres must not only be held responsible to the upper level, but must also retain the confidence of the masses and be held responsible to the masses for the political consequences of everything they do.

To strengthen the ties between the party and the masses, we must make a determined effort to eradicate all manifestations of bureaucracy, must change our style of work and work methods. We must observe the principles of Lenin: mix with the masses. Understand what their precise attitudes are. Learn everything. Understand the masses. Now how to get on close terms with the masses. Try to win their absolute confidence. It must be understood that correct leadership by the party is totally alien to bureaucracy, subjectivism and disregard for the masses.

If we think back to the years of the resistance against the United States in the South, we will remember that it was because we had trust in the masses and

relied upon them that we were able to overcome countless difficulties and win victory. The masses provided us with countless good ways to fight the enemy, break the enemy's grip and gain control of and defend villages. Back then, every cadre and party member was fully aware of the importance of civilian proselyting, considered "civilian proselyting to be the starting point" and was very concerned with educating and mobilizing the masses, viewing this as the foremost measure in acquiring the strength needed to wage the struggle. However, since the day that the South was liberated, we have gradually given less and less attention to educating and organizing the masses and have gradually relaxed our efforts in these areas. Many places and many persons rely heavily upon the use of orders, give light attention to educating and persuading the masses and do not realize that they must always be concerned with strengthening the mass organizations because they are indispensable tools in achieving a close relationship between the party and the working masses and people, in general.

Concerning this matter, Le Duan, general secretary of our Party Central Committee, has pointed out: "The relationship between the party and the masses is not merely a matter of awareness or a matter of method, it is also a matter of viewpoint, a matter of stand, a matter in the nature of an extremely strict line. Understanding and upholding the party's mass line are not merely a matter of ideology, but must also be expressed in practical organizational work." To guard against the view of disregarding the masses within the context of the party being at the head of government, Le Duan reminds us: "It must be deeply understood that the greatest dangers to be avoided by a party in power are not only mistakes in its line, but also bureaucracy, government by fiat, authoritarianism...which cause the party to become remote from the masses and weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Our party has faith in the inexhaustible creative forces of the masses and considers serving the people to be its responsibility, to be its important objective in all of its activities. Because, to a communist, there is no higher honor than serving the working people, no greater reward than having the trust of the masses. To tighten the ties between the party and the masses, we must strictly observe the teachings of President Ho: "Be industrious, frugal, just and dedicated" and "the party member must take the lead, the village will follow" in order to "be worthy of being the leader, the truly loyal servant of the people."

Facts have vividly proven that the robust vitality and creativity of our party stem from the close ties between the party and the masses. To overcome the difficulties we face as we travel the road to socialism, it is of decisive significance that we strengthen the ties between the party and the masses in practice, strengthen them through actions, not empty words.

One fact of which we can be sure is that the right of ownership of the working people will not be implemented well until the ties between the party and the masses are strengthened.

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# EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS ON ESTABLISHING THE SOCIALIST WAY OF LIFE IN VIETNAM TODAY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 85 pp 77-88

[Text] Tran Do:

Is the formation of the socialist way of life governed by laws? If it is, what are these laws? Allow us to cite the following relationships that are in the nature of laws:

1. The relationship between the material and the spiritual;
2. The relationship between that which is universal and that which belongs to the nation;
3. The relationship between heritage and development;
4. The relationship between the collective and the individual;
5. The relationship between mandatory requirements and self choice;
6. The relationship among abolishing some things, transforming some things and building others in the struggle to establish the socialist way of life.

The relationship between the material and the spiritual:

One of the sayings we have is "It is from wealth and distinction that cultural standards are born." This saying can be taken to mean ridicule of the wealthy as creatures who are affected or invent absurd and ostentatious cultural standards. On the other hand, it can also be viewed from the perspective of that which is spiritual being dependent upon that which is physical: to possess high cultural standards, one must possess wealth and distinction. Besides this saying, we also have the sayings "Wealth of character do not riches make" and "Poor but honest." The meaning of these saying, which reflect pride and spiritual values, is to give encouragement to the preservation of spiritual values, not to give reason for them to be controlled by material conditions. The above sayings all contain an element of truth but this truth is only applicable in a number of cases. It cannot be called a universal and absolute truth of the relationship between the material and the

spiritual. This relationship is a dialectical one. It is dynamic, rich and complex.

To begin with, it is necessary to reject the opinion that without good material conditions, a beautiful way of life cannot be established. At the same time, we must also reject the opinion that lies at the other extreme, namely, that regardless of material circumstances, a beautiful way of life can be established merely through correct and comprehensive ideological education. We must examine this relationship from many different perspectives and examine it on many different scales, examine it within the context of many different degrees of balance between the material and the spiritual.

Does this relationship coincide with the relationship between the standard of living and the way of life, can we simply identify the standard of living as the material and the way of life as the spiritual?

No, we cannot. Because, there are also two ways that the standard of living can be understood. The standard of living can be viewed as the material standard of living. However, it can also be understood as a standard of life, in general, one encompassing the degree to which material needs in life as well as ethical and spiritual requirements are met, thus also reflecting the level of development of the way of life. We must also examine the concepts of "living standards" and "quality of life" that are thrown about to define a material standard of living in terms of national income and the quantity and quality of the consumption of material wealth in order to boast about and defend the development of capitalism. There are also persons who use the concepts "living standards" and "quality of life" with the intention of defining man's life as material consumption without any need for concern for ethical and spiritual values. They seek to use quantitative measurements of material consumption as the only standards for calculating and evaluating "living standards." This is unacceptable.

"A beautiful way of life can be established under any standard of living." This thinking stresses the ethical and spiritual aspects of the way of life. Our nation's history attests to the fact that we have experienced periods in which our material standard of living has been very low and everyone has suffered hardships and deprivation but the way of life we had during those periods was very beautiful. This can be very clearly seen in the hard life of the communists within the prisons of the French imperialists and the life filled with danger and privation of the soldiers who fought on the various fronts as well as all the people of the South and the North in the wars of resistance fought against France and the United States. Virtually everyone had a very meager income but all of us lived a life filled with love and charity, with generosity and sharing, with cherishing and respecting one another to the fullest degree possible. Everyone loved one another so much that we even shared life itself with one another, even gave life itself to one another. These are beautiful ethical values, values which progressive mankind views as constituting the very dignity of man. However, it is never the policy of communists that we should build a poor life and only need the beauty of ethics. Therefore, we should perhaps clarify the thinking presented above and say that "we can achieve a way of life that is beautiful in its ethics and spirit under any material standard of living." The purpose in saying this is

to clearly reject the opinion that material life must be full before a beautiful way of life can even be discussed. This mistaken thinking explains every negative phenomena within society in terms of material shortages and recognizes only the billionaire capitalist sharks or the kings and lords of ancient times, whose material life was and is quite full, as the only ones who possess a beautiful way of life. This thinking leads to a type of reactionary thinking that a beautiful life is a life that is truly filled with luxuries.

The relationship between the material and the spiritual exists on many different levels and scales. On the most common level, on the scale of society as a whole, it is the relationship between the mode of social production and the way of life of society. The mode of production defines the political system, the ideology and the ethics of society. The socialist mode of social production, which is based on the public ownership of the means of production, demands that everyone combine two basic factors in their way of life: collective labor and the collective spirit. However, the way of life also encompasses our everyday behavior and this everyday behavior is closely tied to the specific material conditions of life. For example, persons who live within a modern industrial environment in which the means of transportation are primarily mechanized and public live far different lives than persons whose only means of travel are on foot or by bicycle. The manual laborer who works with crude tools surely cannot dress or wear his hair like a diplomat. Growing youths who possess robust bodies and abundant energy cannot live the life of old men who have experienced a long life and whose strength has declined, etc.

Here, we must give much closer examination to the scope and nature of daily actions and the specific material conditions of life, such as housing, clothing, conveniences, utensils and how much we have to eat and drink.

The various types of activities in which we engage in life demand certain minimal, rational material conditions. For example, to live in an orderly and sanitary fashion, man must have minimal, rational conditions in the form of housing, water sources and lighting. Living in an orderly and sanitary fashion does not automatically come about as a result of making general appeals. When transportation is constantly at a standstill and means of transportation routinely break down, it is difficult to always meet the requirement that everyone arrive at work on time.

Conversely, in other cases, the spiritual, ethical and emotional factors determine whether a way of life is good or bad. For example, among many families whose material conditions are the same, some families live a harmonious, easy-going life and everyone is happy while, in other families, everyone feels suffocated as though they were "living in hell." Some persons have beautiful homes and welcome their guests in elegant fashion, with magnificent guestrooms and expensive tea, food and wine but the guests who come to visit them feel awkward, not comfortable. Conversely, at the homes of other persons, homes that are poor and crowded, guests feel excitement, joy and happiness within a warm atmosphere of human warmth. There are also different ways that people say hello to one another, tell jokes, shake hands,

slap one another on the back...but ways that are artificial, tasteless, authoritative or contemptuous only serve to produce arrogance, even loathing, in life.

In this second case, no material conditions whatever are required, only spiritual standards, standards of ethical and humanitarian importance, of very large aesthetic importance. However, it is also difficult to clearly distinguish those cases in which material conditions are required and those in which they are not. In many localities, the party committee and government have raised the issue of organizing the life of the people well in order to establish our way of life. Organizing life well means organizing the delivery of food, housing and transportation in ways that are convenient and rational and establishing the minimum material conditions necessary, such as the repair of housing and roads, supplying sanitary water and supplying lighting in a scientific manner; in particular, organizing distribution-circulation and organizing the commerce network in such a way that everyone can buy grain, food products and other daily essentials in a convenient, fair and rapid manner; and organizing the network of educational facilities and the cultural system in a rational way that meets the educational and cultural needs of the people, all of which must be done on the basis of our current level of economic development, on the basis of existing material conditions. Once all of these aspects of life have been well organized, the face of our people's life will be more beautiful. This will also express the beauty of our way of life. This is the proper way to approach this issue in order to establish a good relationship between the material and the spiritual.

The material factors are not the conditions that directly determine a way of life, rather, they are only the necessary prerequisites to establishing a way of life. Those factors that determine whether a way of life is beautiful or ugly are political awareness, ideological level and the level of awareness of ethics and aesthetics. Of course, these spiritual factors, generally speaking, only have an impact upon the way of life on the basis of certain material conditions. However, we must also realize that certain actions and types of behavior that are part of a way of life are not very dependent upon material conditions. Many basic units have adopted rules, conventions and statutes on maintaining public order and sanitation, on interpersonal relations, on molding families of the new culture, molding Trade Union members and Youth Union members who are activists...and have achieved some good results.

Thus, in our work of establishing the new way of life, the socialist way of life, we must have a dialectical understanding of the relationship between the material and the spiritual. We cannot ignore or deny material factors because such would bring the malady of subjectivism, even idealism, upon us. At the same time, we must realize the decisive role played by ideological consciousness in building the way of life and, on this basis, display activism, initiative and self-awareness in this effort. Of course, the decisive role played by ideological consciousness in establishing the way of life can only be achieved on the basis of certain material conditions because life itself always occurs within the unity between the material and the spiritual...

Hong Long:

Socialist society, beginning with the very first days of the period of transition, has restored the right of the laboring masses to own the means of production, has abolished the causes of the division of society into antagonistic classes. These new conditions are the socio-economic base upon which the new way of life of the laborer using the means of production to create wealth for himself and his descendants is established.

Labor is the source of our understanding of one another, of the profound affection for one another, the source of all material and spiritual wealth and is that which creates the strength that binds everyone together for the sake of the life and genuine happiness of social man.

It is the most basic factor determining the character of the new, socialist way of life and is also the premise upon which every other aspect of social life, of social man and his new and extremely rich way of life is to be established.

The individual-family-society within socialism are a dialectical entity and the socialist way of life that we have been and are establishing is reflected within this dialectical entity. Socialism and the system of socialist collective ownership establish correct and beautiful relations between one person and another within society on the basis of unleashing the dynamism and creativity of every individual, whose specific position is determined by the labor, the qualities and the scale of the values contributed by them to society. And, this is also the basic element that determines and guides the beautiful way of life of every individual within the entity that is society as a whole. The socialist family and the new relations brought about by socio-economic changes, which constitute the organic and active cells of society, reflect society's basic principles, ideals and requirements and create the conditions for family members to achieve the comprehensive development of the individual by making positive and worthy contributions within every field of social life. Socialist society, for the first time in history, rejects a disorderly way of life based on competition and deception, a dog eat dog way of life, in order to establish the new way of life, one that cares for and constantly enhances the life of genuine persons who live together in love and reason, in friendship with one another.

The new, socialist way life, like socialism itself, cannot be formed immediately but comes into existence through necessary stages of development, the characteristics of which reflect the nature of the period of transition to socialism.

The establishment of the socialist way of life absolutely need not wait until the socialist mode of production is perfected. The laboring masses and their vanguard unit, through the development of their revolutionary character in real life in the new stage, create models that reflect the new, socialist way of life even during the very first days of the period of transition with its many objective difficulties.

The new generations born under the new system, generations who possess a higher cultural standard, new knowledge of science and new understanding can, if educated and trained well, create the new way of life even under the material conditions and the low standard of living of the period of transition. This is a manifestation of the superiority and strength of socialism.

The crucial aspect of the process of establishing the new way of life is the struggle against conservative, backward views and every old fashioned habit, against the forces of the old way of life that still lingers as well as the attraction of the capitalist way of life, which is still strong among many ethnic groups.

Bourgeois ideologues are constantly concealing the class nature and the exploitative nature of the bourgeois way of life by advertising, through popular books and magazines, through every medium available, the so called "Western lifestyle," the "naked material" lifestyle, the free and easy lifestyle and demagogic concepts about the so called "quality of life" of "developed industrial society," of "post-industrial," "post-urban" and "megapolis" society. They are also constantly asserting their confidence in the innate character of man, in the selfish and greedy lifestyle of individualism in order to openly challenge the new, socialist social system.

Therefore, in our efforts to establish the new, socialist way of life, we must fight off each of these assaults by the old way of life, especially during the initial stages of the period of transition. The struggle to criticize these old, backward and decadent ways of life that demean the dignity of man must be waged not only on the theoretical and ideological front by means of propaganda and education, but waged even in everyday life through a variety of economic, political and cultural measures, including different administrative measures and different uses of violent force, depending upon the phenomena and circumstances involved as well as the different, specific persons against which such measures are being taken...

Bui Dang Duy:

What does the establishment of the socialist way of life during the period of transition entail?

If it our view that dignity lies at the heart of our way of life, the issue of "who triumphs over whom" during the period of transition is also a struggle to bring about the formation of socialist dignity, a struggle against--as K. Marx said--the deeply entrenched morals and thinking of the old society that gave birth to them.

To establish a scientific world view to serve as the basis of socialist dignity, we must reject and discard the world views of the old man that predates science and theory. To accomplish this, the party of the working class must establish a system of cultural values and initiate a widespread and profound process to bring about the birth of socialist dignity.

Most importantly, the task of the ideological and cultural revolution is to "make each cultural value the property of the people and create the conditions for them to personally create each of their cultural values" by reorganizing the national education system, providing a communist education and bringing back to the laborer the genuine cultural assets of the nation, of man.

In conjunction with this are the economic tasks: engaging the masses in labor, the most important field in man's way of life. Distribution in accordance with labor reflects society's concern for material needs and the development of the "rudiments" of communist distribution. Control of society is considered an activity of the state and people because, as V.I. Lenin wrote, without state accounting and control of production and distribution, not only the rights of the people, but even the freedom of the laborer are in danger of being abolished, that is, the conditions needed for the development of dignity no longer exist.

In the period of transition, socialism can only be built on the basis of an industry that still consists of much that has been inherited from the old society. Therefore, an organization of labor that is free of all corruption is not yet possible. However, of importance is the fact that socialism, even in its early stages, provides the conditions needed to establish a new organization of labor, the economic base of which is public ownership of the means of production. We must gradually bring all the masses into this organization of labor because it is only socialism and its organization of labor that can make labor become the act of liberating man, which is the most brilliant manifestation of the new character of the socialist man. Once labor is no longer a private job and becomes a collective activity, it permits man to display the fullest possible measure of his capabilities and initiative. It is only within this large school of creative labor that the negative phenomena, the consequences of the ruination and corruption of man by the old society, the consequences of the long war of aggression, of unscientific socio-economic management are gradually overcome in order to create a beautiful way of life. Because, once the above mentioned reforms are made, changes naturally occur within the structure of society and the structure of its classes which, in turn, have an impact upon the development of dignity, of the way of life.

Saying that we can create a society whose way of life is beautiful even though our standard of living is not high does not mean that we are permitted to violate the principle of the socialist way of life that there be harmonious balance between the material and the spiritual.

It is our assertion that we can soon establish a beautiful way of life before a complete system of large-scale socialist production has been established. The history of society holds many vivid examples of the dialectical relationship between the economy and culture and the superstructure's relative independence vis a vis the infrastructure. K. Marx and F. Engels gave us a vivid picture of the political and social decay of Germany (in the late 18th and early 19th centuries) that accompanied its golden age of literature; of the slow economic development of France that went along with the rise by French philosophy to position of supremacy over English philosophy and, in the

end, the rise by German philosophy to a position of supremacy over the philosophies of both of these countries.

Bourgeois axiology either places sole emphasis upon values through transcendentalism or reduces them to nothing through an ordinary economic point of view. The same exists with regard to the way of life. A way of life is either considered to be a phenomenon that exists at a certain place or time or it is directly and automatically treated as an economic category and made synonymous with the standard of living. The decision of socio-historical argument concerning the way of life does not reject its study from the standpoint of values: a way of life crystallizes those things that are essential, is closely tied to the mode of production and encompasses values at the same time. As a result, it can precede and open the way for the development of the standard of living, the development of the mode of production.

The factors that stimulate the evolution of a way of life are not simply the quantitative aspects of the standard of living, but also the quality and essence, the variety of meaning of a way of life, that is, the superiority of one way of life over another. Here, the decisive role is played by who it is that leads society. The first prerequisite is that the proletarian dictatorship state subscribe to a cultural policy under which one objective is to establish the socialist way of life by means of a specific program. Of the countless jobs that such a lengthy project entails, working toward a common concept of the way of life and resolving the theoretical questions concerning it are a pressing job, one that we face now...

Do Huy:

In the present stage, the struggle for the victory of the socialist way of life is still an arduous and bitter struggle because the socialist way of life is still young and must contend with the conservative habits and the inertia of the primitive and pre-capitalist modes of production that have existed for thousands of years, thus compelling us to define the direction and stages of development of the forms that the new life takes. This is a matter of methodology closely tied to our viewpoints, stand, revolutionary wisdom and scientific world view. To define the stages and goals that exist in the process of establishing the forms that the new life takes is to define how the new values are formed and give direction to our new customs, habits and traditions. By moving in stages and setting near term goals in order to prepare for the achievement of long-term goals, we prevent illusions in our ideals. We must work in such a way that the Central Highlands, the Northwest and the other ethnic areas all uniformly advance at the same time toward socialism. There cannot be one cultural model, one house with room for all from which we enter industrial civilization without first taking transitional steps under the positive impact of subjective revolutionary factors oriented toward a specific goal. For this reason, in defining the stages involved in the establishment of the socialist way of life throughout our territory, we must take into consideration the conditions of each area, each region, each population zone and each ethnic group on the basis of the socialist mode of production.



Defining the specifics and methods involved in each stage also raises before us principles and methodology to be employed in the establishment of all the various aspects of the socialist way of life. Whereas every form of living together within every society is the crystallization of all the activities involved in human existence, is a type of specific historical activity determined by the individual and represents the most basic aspects of present life, every form is, therefore, the sum of complex relationships. Therefore, it cannot be determined solely by the mode of production. The largeness and level of each way of life are close in their proximity to the largeness and level of the next higher socio-economic form. They are the crystallization of the traditional and the modern, the material and the spiritual, the national and the international, the individual and the social, the general and the specific, the objective and the subjective. Clearly, in the juxtaposition of these laws that have an impact upon one another in forming the way of life, setting the primary direction of movement at the same time as defining the stages of this process is a necessity. If we assert that the fundamental difference between the socialist way of life and all the ways of life of the modes of production that preceded it lies entirely in the essence of labor, in collectivism, in the right of ownership, in interpersonal relations...then every stage of this process must be specifically defined in both breadth and depth. If collective ownership, labor, love, reason...run throughout the entirety of the socialist way of life then each step of the way, each ethnic group, each area and each region must be oriented toward the formation of the basic values embodied in customs and habits.

Because the way of life is closely associated with culture, with ideology, with ethics, with aesthetic relationships, with the structure of needs, with psychology, with interests and so forth, it is relatively independent of the development of the economic base. The 5th National Congress of the Party confirmed that we can begin to create a society that has a beautiful way of life even though our material standard of living is not yet high, can do so on the basis of the level and the social activism of the spiritual activities of our people.

Under the party's leadership, the spiritual potentials of the nation are directed toward a goal, are enlightened and embody a great power under the impact of the scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism.

However, every Marxist deeply understands that the level of development of spiritual life and social consciousness are determined by material relations, by social existence. Therefore, our efforts to create a beautiful way of life based on the spiritual potentials of society cannot be separated from providing the minimal material conditions needed to maintain and develop it. The negative aspects that exist within our way of life are not determined solely by spiritual relations. For this reason, it cannot be our thinking that if we are to create the socialist way of life, we need only concern ourselves with teaching politics, teaching ethics, teaching aesthetics and teaching art while giving light attention to the scientific-technological revolution, to raising the level of development of production forces...with no concessions made for the importance of spiritual relations.

It must be realized that a beautiful way of life is a whole entity consisting of the material and the spiritual established through the relationships between the individual and society. Be it ethics or aesthetics, labor or interpersonal relations, they only reflect one part of this whole. Fine ethics, a rich appreciation of aesthetics, a high level of education, broad cultural exposure...are only different aspects of the whole. While these aspects do much to define the characteristics of the way of life, the level of development of the socialist way of life must also be dependent upon the nature of the development of the socialist system upon the foundation of the development of production relations and production forces.

We are simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions to build the new economy, establish the new culture and mold the new, socialist man. This approach reflects taking the initiative in establishing the socialist way of life from a point of view that is comprehensive. We can, from among the tangle of knots, find the one knot from which the others can be untied, wherever it might lie. Clear revolutionary vision and dynamism on our part are very important prerequisites to uncovering and resolving the inconsistencies that exist in order to resolve them in the manner that is most intelligent. It is our thinking that, in view of our situation, the knots can begin to be untied by molding socialist dignity.

Hoang Vinh:

On the surface, the way of life and culture can be interpreted as close in meaning. The way of life can be understood as the activities in the life of man projected upon the axis of social relations and culture as the forms projected upon the axis of his creative activities.

Society's way of life can be viewed as a network of continuously occurring social situations in which persons have contact with one another, have an impact upon one another, inform one another, make requests of one another, influence one another and receive something from one another. Every kind of social contact is a behavioral situation. During social contact, we must define the situation so that we can behave accordingly. Within a specific culture, there are established patterns of behavior which enable us to know one another, enable one person to read the language of the other person's behavior and enable us to predict how the other person will behave when social contact does occur. It is this system of established behavior that gives society's way of life its outward appearance.

There is not one way of social life that does not have a culture nor is there one culture that does not express itself in a way of life. There is no other goal to our present efforts to establish the new way of life in our country than to mold the new man, a man fully capable of undertaking his historic role of successfully building socialism and firmly defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland. One of the important jobs that must be performed in molding the new, socialist man is to give his values a correct direction...

Setting direction to their values is the inclination of persons who seek to seize, take possession of or move closer to a certain social value and, in this way, raise their character to a higher level of perfection. Therefore,

giving direction to values is a fundamental element of the structure of character, is the basis upon which the feelings and consciousness of man are formed and directed toward a specific goal and ideal.

Giving direction to values is one form of giving social direction to the individual. It defines the attitude that the individual brings to choices made in the face of the entire system of material and spiritual welfare of society. It defines the behavior and morals of the individual as they are given expression in behavioral culture, in the individual's social inclinations and activism.

Many scientists have discussed the noble traditional values of our nation. Recently, there was a scientific conference on "The Vietnamese Cultural and Spiritual Values" organized by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism and TAP CHI CONG SAN...

Generally speaking, traditional Vietnamese society was a society that had reached the pinnacle of agricultural civilization but stopped on the doorstep of industrial civilization. It is my belief that society never truly experienced any social revolution because history unfolded slowly, was slow to make progress and the past overtook the present. Within that society, the division of labor was not thorough. For the most part, society was divided into only two strata: the upper stratum of the king and mandarins, that is, the ruling strata, and the lower stratum, the laboring people, that is, the stratum that was ruled. Society had no third stratum of free tradesmen. The circle of mental laborers was split along two lines: those who studied and passed their mandarin examinations joined the ruling stratum while those who failed went back to being druggists or teachers, which essentially brought them down to the level of those who were being ruled. Under such social conditions, the only way that someone could make their way in life was to set the direction of their values as going to school in order to "become a mandarin."

To become a mandarin essentially meant to adopt an attitude of contempt for labor and to seek personal fulfillment through the labor of others. This was the thinking of exploitation--the super economic style of exploitation that preceded capitalism. Regrettably, influences of aspects of this psychology still linger in the thinking of our youths today.

To overcome this negative psychology, our state has adopted policies that encourage youths to eagerly join the forces of science and technology, establish appropriate benefits for talented persons, extol examples of creative labor in production as well as combat and set a pattern for the way of life of society.

In every field of activity, the values that head the list still depend upon creative labors. This is the new "bravery" of the period of socialist construction.

In his article "Knowing the Laws that Apply, Changing and Improving Economic Management," Le Duan wrote: "Labor is the foremost quality of the collective

master. This is conscious, creative labor performed with an ever higher sense of responsibility."(1)

The purpose of placing creative labor at the top of the list of socialist social values and encouraging youths to try to orient their own values in this new direction is to help create the wholesome and beautiful socialist way of life.

Duc Minh:

Our country's population is growing very rapidly. Our population density has risen to 174 persons per square kilometer, the highest among the socialist countries and far higher than the "safe level" needed to maintain balance between the amount of arable land available to feed people and the number of persons who must be fed. F. Engels clearly showed that a population cannot grow indefinitely without limit. Every nation and all mankind must soon determine the maximum size of their population and regulate population growth just as production processes are regulated. The actual situation of the life of our country's population at present demands that we be practical in our thinking and assert one truth: our country is "densely populated" and, because labor productivity is still low, we must have a way of life that is consistent with our being "densely populated but poor" in order to quickly re-establish a rational balance between production and the population.

Imbalance between supply and demand always directly reflects the imbalance that exists between unplanned population growth and the meager or gradually declining sources of material wealth of society and natural resources. "Supply" that is lower than "demand" is one of the fundamental causes of numerous negative phenomena in social life. Therefore, if their character is not forged, especially in terms of the motives for their actions and social behavior, the laborers and the young generation of today find it difficult to ward off the strong and constant attacks made on them by the negative thinking and actions that are occurring around them, some of which are visible, some of which are not. Spontaneous population growth is a major threat to 75 percent of the countries of the world. As a result, one of the latest and most pressing aspects of the issue of the new way of life is the relationship between the interpersonal relations between persons with crowded society and the quality of the life of the population, which is still low. Let us examine and attempt on a preliminary basis to resolve the following few specific problems:

Problem number one concerning the quality of life is that of grain, food and nutrition. It is a law of life that "ethics are only upheld on a full stomach." We are struggling to maintain the supply of grain at an average of 300 kilograms per capita per year. If we manage to go above this "threshold," we will free ourselves of the threat of hunger. However, we must struggle to achieve the level of 500 kilograms per capita per year in order to establish the material base needed to free ourselves from poverty and shortages. To be well to do, to be prosperous, we must, of course, make an even greater effort. Thus, productive labor, especially labor within the fields of agriculture, forestry and fishing, has become an extremely urgent necessity. The *raison d'etre* "one for all, all for one" must be given

concrete form by each citizen today, be expressed in practice, in the consciousness and skills required by diligent, creative labor, in high labor productivity in the fields, in the mountainous jungles, on the rivers, at sea, etc. This is not love of labor in general, but love of a specific kind of labor, of producing very much grain and food and raising the nutritional level of all of society. The socialist and communist ideals of the Vietnamese must be "materialized" in this concrete and vivid way. Each theoretical base that underlies the ideals of the citizen, the laborer, the soldier must lead to practical action. More than a few persons call themselves "workers" and "work hard for their living," "make a lot of money," etc. Simply working hard and making a lot of money are totally different from working to produce wealth for society, especially to produce very much food for society. These persons have adversely affected a rather large number of youths who are unsteady and steer a middle course and drawn them into kinds of trades, into ways of making a profit that are, in essence, "redistribution" by picking one another's pocket, thereby causing disorder in economic and social life. It is regrettable that a number of highly educated persons are also committing "self-immolation" in these dishonest ways of earning a living.

Another major difficulty is that of redistributing labor and the population, especially providing and finding work and jobs for more than 1 million new laborers each year. Therefore, one issue to which the socialist way of life much attach special importance and must resolve very well is the issue of providing an education in labor and providing occupational counselling in conjunction with providing jobs for the young generation. It is necessary to help this stratum of persons come to deeply understand that occupational ideals are a component of communist ideals. Without occupational ideals, the so called communist ideals in the heads of some youths will constitute nothing more than a few vague thoughts or dreams. Therefore, the way of life of the persons in our society today is also a way of life in which occupational ideals are consistent with the occupational requirements of that specific portion of society that exists immediately within one's locality. The way of life of simply attending school and then waiting for one's family or society to arrange one's occupational future has become outmoded. We must teach our children that preparing for work within an occupation is the most basic, the most important and also the largest part of each youth's "preparation for life." And, in the occupational counselling provided to youths, establishing the concept of selecting an occupation that is consistent with the requirements of the economy within one's locality is a matter of decisive significance. We must skillfully guide the young generation in dreaming dreams that are highly realistic. Motivating youths does not mean "raising their expectations to the sky" with the result that they are later brought crashing down by the realities of life and painfully watch as their dreams "suddenly go up in smoke." The occupational dreams of today's young generation must be consistent with the country's economic development priorities. Specifically, youths must be psychologically prepared to directly work in agriculture, forestry and fishing, in small industry and the handicraft trades, in capital construction and, of no less importance, prepare to undertake careers in the social services.

Vo Quy:

In order to establish a beautiful life for ourselves today and for the generations of tomorrow, it has come time for us to create a new habit, a new socialist way of life of protecting natural resources and the environment, of keeping the place where we live clean.

Man, in the course of his development, has taken positive steps to improve upon natural conditions and create a favorable and beautiful environment for his life. At the same time, actions with negative consequences are taken against natural resources and the environment. The nearly 100 years of exploitation by colonialism and the 30 years of the war unleashed by imperialist and reactionary forces have caused very serious damage to the resources and environment in Vietnam. At present, in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism, the achievement of economic and cultural targets demands the stronger mobilization, in both breadth and depth, of the potentials that lie in our arable land, forests and ocean waters and the more vigorous development of the various types of minerals and the various forms of energy. The environment of the cities, the industrial zones and even the countryside and new economic zones will change significantly. The impact upon the ecological systems of the forests, hills, mountains, lowlands, estuaries and seacoast will be strong. Data compiled through investigations and surveys conducted by agriculture, forestry, the water conservancy sector, the hydrology sector, the public health sector and so forth as well as by the sectors of the basic sciences show that Vietnam faces, as they are broadly defined, many pressing environmental problems, problems which encompass both natural resources and the quality of the environment.

Consider but a few examples: in roughly the last 40 years, our country has lost one-half of its forests, an average of 163,000 hectares of forests per year. Since 1975, this average rate has risen to 225,000 hectares. If this trend continues, the complete loss of our forests will occur in the space of 20 to 30 years. The amount of natural land, especially agricultural land, per capita in our country ranks among the very lowest in the world and is, in addition, steadily declining. Many valuable species of tropical plant and animal life and gene banks are not being thoroughly protected and face the danger of becoming extinct. The use of the natural resources of the seacoast and the mouths of rivers is irrational and wasteful. The pollution of water and air, especially from the indiscriminate use of pesticides, is quite serious. This is not to mention the harmful effects of the war and the pressure of a population that is growing too rapidly. All of these factors have combined to cause the conditions under which man lives at many places to rapidly deteriorate, especially in the industrial zones.

Therefore, we must learn to make full and rational use of the renewable resources while maintaining ecological balance and make economical use of non-renewable resources. We must learn how to protect the environment but avoid doing so in a way that reflects gross interference or development and avoid carrying out development that reflects a lack of awareness or has no basis in science. At the same time, we must learn how to quickly restore the natural resources and ecosystems that have been lost or damaged. For example, we must improve the areas of bare ground and barren hills, the forests that have

declined, the mouths of rivers and bays; restore rare forms of plant and animal life, species of economic value that are being harvested to excess and the areas destroyed by chemical poisons; improve the industrial zones, the large cities, the tourist areas, etc.

This issue is an urgent one. It requires the adoption of educational, organizational and management measures, the adoption of policies and laws. We must cultivate throughout society the habit of disposing of human wastes and garbage in a sanitary manner; keeping water sources, rivers, the seas, the air and the ground clean; protecting beneficial plant and animal life; and complying with the environmental policy and the laws of the state concerning natural resources and the environment. It is necessary to make instruction in the environment a part of the regular program of schools; at the same time, we must intensify the environmental educational effort outside the school, launch movements of the masses to protect and improve the environment...

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See: TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 8, 1984.

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COVER PAGES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 85 inside front cover, inside back cover, outside back cover

[Text] Inside Front Cover

"Our party can be proud of being the one who has carried on the glorious traditions of our nation, the one who has blazed our people's path to a brilliant future"

Ho Chi Minh  
(Opening address at the 3rd Congress of  
the party)

Inside Back Cover

Perfecting the socialist production relations within agriculture in the North:

Cooperative member households as a percentage of the total number of farm households:

1976: 96.5  
1980: 96.8  
1984: 96.6

High level cooperatives as a percentage of the total number of cooperatives:

1976: 89.0  
1980: 85.8  
1984: 88.4

Number of cooperative members (average per cooperative) (households):

1976: 230  
1980: 368  
1984: 324



The socialist transformation of agriculture in the South:

Number of cooperatives:

1980: 1,518

1983: 1,732

1984: 1,925

Number of production collective:

1980: 9,350

1983: 19,154

1984: 27,344

Cooperative member households as a percentage of the total number of farm households:

1980: 24.5

1983: 24.7

1984: 25.1

Outside Back Cover

The Party Serves the People--The People Trust the Party

Photographs and Drawings

A photograph of Le Duan appears on page 9.

A portrait of Ho Chi Minh drawn by Duong Hung Minh appears between pages 6 and 7 above the caption: President Ho Chi Minh (1890-1969).

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END

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